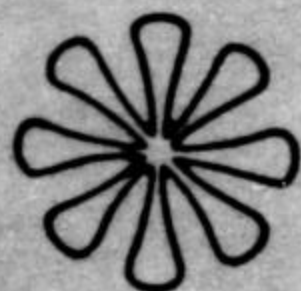


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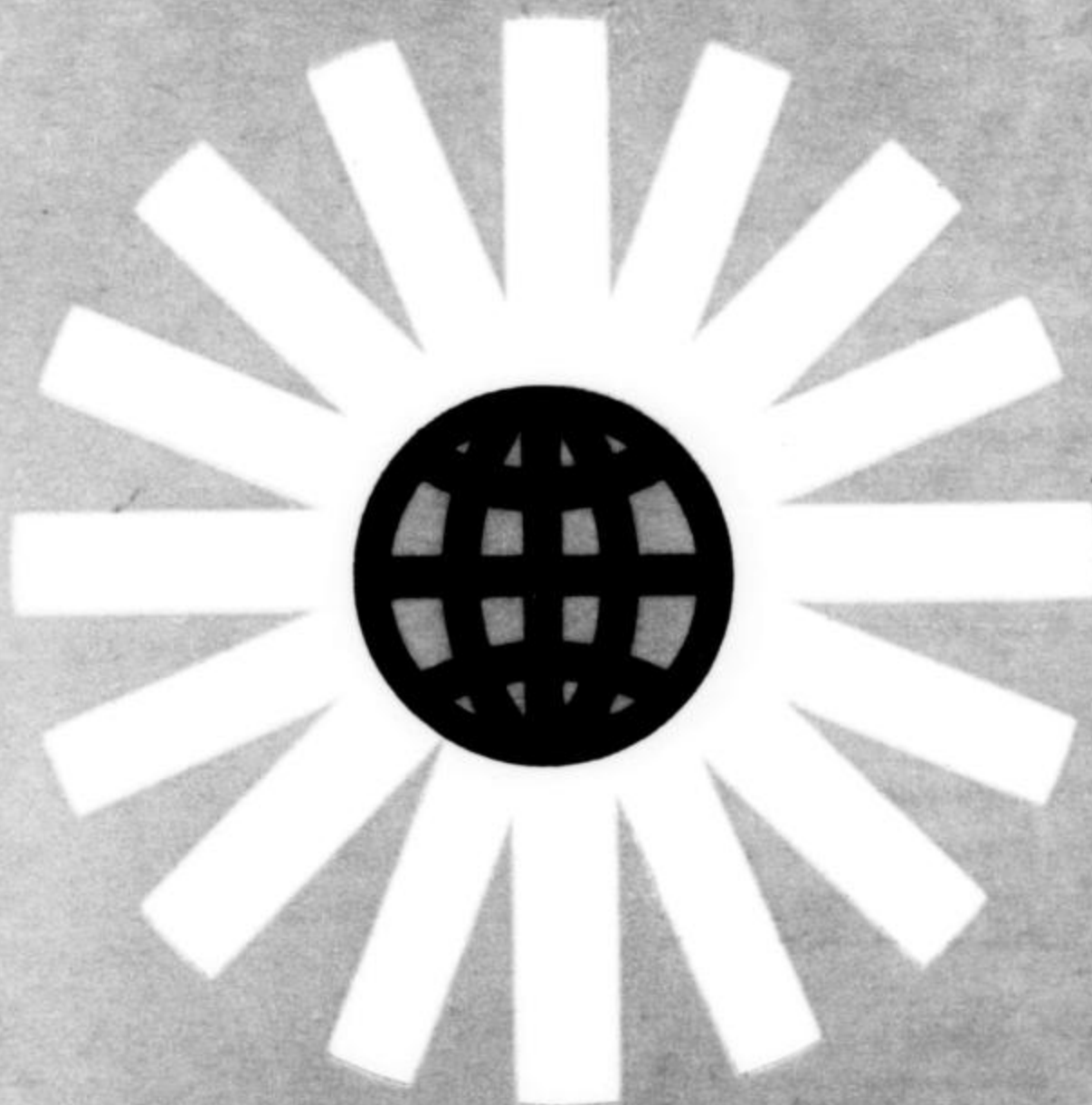
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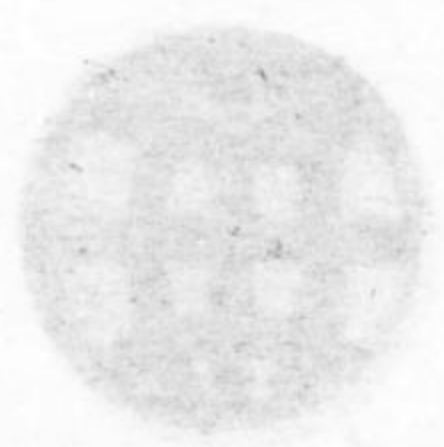
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APPEAL* TO THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD

A forum on the theme "Lenin and the Arab National Liberation Movement" took place in Beirut on March 18 and 19 last. The forum, dedicated to the Lenin centenary, was attended by representatives of the Communist parties of Iraq, Syria and Lebanon. Following is the text of the Appeal adopted by it.

The Editors

Peoples of the world,
Workers and peasants,

Almost three years have passed since June 5, 1967, when U.S. imperialism wantonly attacked the Arab countries and peoples with the aid of its tool and puppet, Israel.

U.S. imperialism expected through that aggression to crush the Arab national liberation movement and prevent our peoples from freely building their life and future. It wanted to strike at the progressive regimes of the United Arab Republic, Syria and Iran, so as to retain the concessions of the monopolies that plunder our countries.

The criminal attack enabled the Israeli aggressors to overrun the whole of Palestine and parts of the UAR, Syria and Jordan.

Ever since then the Israeli aggressors armed by the United States have been shedding the blood of children, women and old people and destroying material wealth, churches and mosques. They have driven tens of thousands of Arabs off their lands.

The last third of the twentieth century is witnessing the collective destruction of all that is valuable on Arab and Vietnamese soil.

The Israel invaders refuse to relinquish the areas they seized on June 5. This is a challenge to world opinion, which has condemned the Israeli aggression. The invaders' criminal activity has the direct material, military, financial and political backing of international, first of all U.S., imperialism.

Our Arab peoples have not surrendered despite their June defeat, nor will they ever throw themselves on the mercy of the invaders and their imperialist patrons.

Firmly resisted by our peoples, U.S. imperialism and Israel are stepping up their criminal activity as they prepare for a new military attack to seize more territory and to enslave or destroy Arabs. In line with this sinister plan, the U.S. imperialists deliver offensive

Al Akhbar, March 22, 1970.

arms to Israel, where U.S., West German and other imperialist mercenaries are flocking together to reinforce the Israeli Army.

We representatives of the Communist parties of Iraq, Syria and Lebanon, who have met in Beirut to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, the great thinker and revolutionary, call on the peoples of the world, on the workers, peasants, progressive intellectuals and whoever else cherishes human blood and freedom and the assets of civilization to range themselves alongside our peoples in order to stay the criminal hand of imperialism and Zionism and prevent them from committing another aggression against our peoples and their freedom.

Should the imperialists and Zionists persist in their criminal activity, we call on you to organize the dispatch of voluntary specialists, whom we badly need, to help us in our just fight. This aid from all peoples would be an indication of internationalism in the common struggle of all who love freedom and are opposed to imperialism and its abominable offspring, Zionism.

Beirut, March 19, 1970.

LENIN AND AFRICA*

TERENCE AFRICANUS

The working people of South Africa are under an incalculable debt to the ideas and principles of Lenin, which spread with ever-increasing impetus in our country after the victory of the October Revolution and, despite the bans imposed on Communist ideas since the fascist laws of 1950, continue to be a powerful influence today.

The old South African Labor Party, formed by the white trade unionists in 1910, was a part of the Second International. It shared the indifference or hostility of the British Labor Party and other West European Social-Democratic parties towards the national aspirations and struggles of the oppressed colonial peoples of Asia and Africa.

But within that Party there was a left-wing group, which like Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks stood firm on its internationalist principles and denounced the imperialist war of 1914-18. They formed the International Socialist League, later to become (in 1921) the principal force of the Communist Party of South Africa. But many of them carried into the new Party much of the opportunism on the national question which had characterized the Labor Party. For several years the CPSA paid little attention to the crucial issue of our country: the national democratic revolution. Lenin's thinking on the national question (directly conveyed as his writings became more generally available, and through the medium of the Communist International, of which he was the main architect) transformed the theory and practice of the Communist Party.

Addressing the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920 Lenin had pointed out that,

"The characteristic feature of imperialism consists in the whole world, as we now see, being divided into a large number of oppressed nations and an insignificant number of oppressor nations, the latter possessing colossal wealth and powerful armed forces. The vast majority of the world's population . . . about 70 per cent . . . belong to the oppressed nations, which are either in a state of direct colonial dependence or are semi-colonial, as, for example, Persia, Turkey and China, or else, conquered by some big imperialist power, have become greatly dependent on that power by virtue of peace treaties . . . The second basic idea in our theses is that, in

*The African Communist, No. 40, First Quarter 1970. Abridged.

the present world situation following the imperialist war, reciprocal relations between peoples and the world political system as a whole are determined by the struggle waged by a small group of imperialist nations against the Soviet movement and the Soviet states headed by Soviet Russia. Unless we bear that in mind, we shall not be able to pose a single national or colonial problem correctly, even if it concerns a most outlying part of the world" (Vol. 31, pp. 240-41).

Lenin foresaw, with the foresight of genius, that the victorious workers of the Soviet Union, the revolutionary workers movement in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movements in the colonial countries would merge into a single stream of world-wide revolution against imperialism.

The victory of these ideas made it possible for the Communist Party in South Africa to transform itself into the revolutionary vanguard of the fight against white colonialism and for national liberation.

Upon the national liberation movement too, the African National Congress and its partners in the alliance, Lenin's thinking has had a profound influence. Like all such broad movements, naturally these include Communists and non-Communists alike. Throughout Africa, misled by imperialist propaganda, many nationalist leaders originally adopted hostile attitude towards the Russian Revolution. But fifty years of bitter experience under colonialism and apartheid rule have served radically to modify such attitudes. Honest African patriots, irrespective of their personal outlook or philosophy, have had to recognize that the staunchest and most devoted fighters for African freedom are the Communists, the followers of Lenin. Facing trial for his life in the Rivonia trial of 1964, Nelson Mandela warmly defended the ANC policy of cooperation with the Communist Party. "Communists have always played an active role in the fight by colonial countries" he told the bourgeois court.

Is it necessary for all countries, including those which have not yet entered or fully entered upon the capitalist stage, to traverse this before entering upon the building of socialism? Some self-styled "Marxists," regarding the letter but not the spirit of Marxism, would have said "yes, there can be no skipping of historical stages."

Such a pedantic and bookish approach was far from the truly revolutionary, creative thinking of Lenin. He said,

"The question was posed as follows: are we to consider as correct the assertion that the capitalist stage of economic development is inevitable for backward nations now on the road to emancipation and among whom a certain advance towards progress is

to be seen since the war? We replied in the negative. If the victorious revolutionary proletariat conducts systematic propaganda among them, and the Soviet governments come to their aid with all the means at their disposal—in that event it will be mistaken to assume that the backward peoples must inevitably go through the capitalist stage of development” (Vol. 31, p. 244).

The past 50 years, and especially the experience of the formerly backward territories of the Soviet Union, of People's Mongolia, of Korea and Vietnam, have fully vindicated the correctness of this stand by Lenin. It is precisely because of this theoretical breakthrough that we can envisage the definite possibility of other African and Asian countries today pursuing a non-capitalist path of development towards socialism. It was in tribute to the liberating effect of this aspect that I. Elinewinga, representing TANU of Tanzania declared (at the International Symposium devoted to the Centenary of Lenin's birth, at Alma-Ata last October):

“Right now we are engaged in a deliberate and massive political education of all the leaders, peasants and workers and throughout our entire educational system in Tanzania. Lenin's teachings are thoroughly studied at our institutions of higher learning.

“Believing in the wisdom of the great Lenin's conclusion that in our time the people who win liberation from colonial oppression can advance to socialism bypassing capitalism, we in Tanzania decided not to wait for the colonial robbers to build mock industries and capitalism in our motherland so as to give us the opportunity to build socialism in the traditional and classical procedure.”

A number of other African leaders—Dia El Din Dawood, a member of the Supreme Executive of the Arab Socialist Union (UAR), Dr. Tunji Otegbeye of Nigeria, M. Piliso of the ANC, T. G. Silundika of ZAPU, Sam Nujoma of SWAPO, Judas Honwana of FRELIMO, were also present on this memorable occasion and paid tribute to the memory of Lenin and the ever-living inspiration of his teachings.

It is not at all strange that the leaders of African liberation movements, particularly those engaged in armed conflict against Portuguese and white South African colonialism, should thus pay homage to Lenin. For he himself was a fearless, consistent and fiery upholder of the cause of African freedom, and that of all the oppressed of the world. Lenin's notebooks compiled while he was working on his famous book *Imperialism—The Highest Stage of Capitalism* are full of angry comments on the rape of our continent.

Of the Italian colonial war against Libya in 1912 Lenin wrote: “It was caused by the mercenary interests of the Italian finance tycoons and capitalists, who need a new market, who require successes for Italian imperialism . . . It was an advanced civilized

human massacre, the slaughter of the Arabs by the aid of the "most up-to-date" weapons . . . It would take a long time yet to "civilize" them by bayonet, bullet, the noose, fire and the raping of women."

Lenin consistently denounced the deeds of the imperialists in "their" colonies and those wretched "socialist" leaders who supported them. He went further and vigorously upheld the right of colonized peoples to fight for their freedom in armed struggle. He wrote,

"National wars *against* the imperialist powers are not only possible and probable; they are inevitable, *progressive, revolutionary*" (Vol. 22, p. 312).

The most important thing about the ideas and the work of V. I. Lenin, like those of Karl Marx before him, is that they have been vindicated and proved correct by the most exacting and severest test of all—the test of practice, of history. So if we want to look at his achievement, we must not only study his books and speeches, we must also look at the fruits of his work as a practical revolutionary, and in particular at the Soviet Union and the international Communist movement, to whose building Lenin contributed more than any other man.

Addressing the Alma-Ata Symposium on October 1, the secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, D. A. Kunayev, said of the former period:

"There were . . . no large-scale industrial enterprises, and agriculture was primitive. Ignorance and illiteracy reigned in the Kazakh countryside. It was the Great October Revolution that helped our people to emerge on to the road of far-reaching social changes and, bypassing the tormenting stage of capitalist development, to make the leap from oppression to freedom and creative endeavor . . . The present Soviet Kazakhstan, by its volume of industrial production is equal to 130 pre-revolutionary Kazakhstans, and its industrial goods are shipped to more than 70 countries. It is producing each hour more electricity than it took pre-revolutionary Kazakhstan to generate within a year . . . Socialism has not only done away with the disgraceful legacy of the past, such as wholesale illiteracy, it has advanced our country to the forefront of science and culture."

Such achievements are of far more than academic interest to the peoples of Africa and other regions whose development has been stifled or retarded by colonialism. They are of the most direct and immediate interest.

No one can afford to overlook the necessity to study and learn from the experiences of the socialist countries which themselves have tackled and overcome precisely such problems.

This year, 1970, will doubtless witness countless tributes on all five continents, to the memory and achievements of Lenin. It will be for us of Africa to see that our continent does not lag behind in these activities.

It would be idle to expect the fascist and racist regimes of Southern Africa to participate in these tributes, even though the United Nations Educational and Scientific Commission has called on all countries to do so. For Lenin's life and work are the negation of everything these vicious regimes stand for; his very name is anathema to the Vorsters, Smiths and Caetanos of this world. They will do their best to keep the people in ignorance of the fact that this is Lenin Year; and failing that they will do all they can to distort his version of a new world and to bespatter his memory.

They will not succeed. Even in these fortresses of reaction the peoples of the oppressed South will find ways and means to mark their tribute, their participation in the international commemoration of the centenary of Lenin's birthday.

Our best tribute will be to raise yet higher the banner of struggle which he unfurled.

We Africans have suffered and are still suffering because the colonialists "hid" Lenin from us; prohibited the circulation of his writings; banned and persecuted those organizations dedicated to the furtherance of his cause. Let us see that 1970 marks a new breakthrough, that all our people everywhere have the opportunity to read Lenin's works in their own languages; to experience for themselves the illuminating and liberating impact of his ideas.

Let us, this year, ensure fresh advances towards the realization of Lenin's great ideas of human liberation by winning new victories for the African Revolution.

Let us inflict major blows on the imperialists and their African agents and hangers-on, the tribalists and greedy, unpatriotic would-be capitalists who would sell the people for their own profit and advancement.

Let us fortify independence and unity in the newly independent states and advance to the liberation of the South.

Let us restore the wealth of Africa to its rightful owners, the African people, and go all out to modernize our economy and uplift the people's standards on the path towards socialism.

That will be Africa's finest tribute to Lenin!

STORMY SEVENTIES*

Nineteen seventy is the Lenin Centenary Year. On the eve of the opening of the world socialist revolution Lenin wrote in the spring of 1917:

"Only a proletarian socialist revolution can lead humanity out of the impasse which imperialism and imperialist wars have created. Whatever difficulties the revolution may have to encounter, whatever possible temporary setbacks or waves of counter-revolution it may have to contend with, the final victory of the proletariat is inevitable" (*Materials Relating to the Revision of the Party Program*, April-May, 1917, published June, 1917: (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 24, p. 469).

Over half a century has passed since those words were written. The experience of these fifty-three years has abundantly proved their truth, with the initial victory of the socialist revolution; the wars of intervention and their defeat; the building of socialism; the counter-offensive of fascism leading to the second world war; the defeat of fascism and the extension of socialism to one third of the world with the accompanying advance of national liberation toppling the old empires; and the new forms of counter-revolution through the cold war, NATO and the extension of military bases and forces and imperialist local wars in many parts of the world. We have now reached a very advanced stage in this confrontation of the dying world of imperialism and the advancing world of socialism and national liberation. Which way will this confrontation develop in the coming decades? This is the question which will govern the problems and prospects of the seventies.

When in the nineteen-twenties we analyzed the character of the temporary capitalist stabilization and predicted its downfall, not in the sense of some abstract generalized prophecy of doom, but with a precise prediction of the concrete conditions in which the break-up would take place (namely, that the temporary stabilization was based on American credits to Europe, and that the break-up would occur when the return flow, reflecting debts and reparations, to the United States would exceed the new American credits) Strachey subsequently placed on public record the chagrin expressed to him by professional academic economists to discover that their expectations had been defeated and that the true analysis and prediction had been made in such an obscure journal. When Munich in the nineteen-thirties tested every political spokesman, and many have

**Labor Monthly*, January 1970. Abridged.

since boasted that they saw through it at the time, though only the voice of Gallacher (not Churchill) publicly exposed it at the time in parliament while Labor cried 'Godspeed' to Chamberlain, we predicted *before* Munich, not only the whole conspiracy preparing to betray Czechoslovakia and the peace front and proclaim it as the triumph of peace, but that, when the bells of peace were ringing the real danger would begin, and the British people would find themselves eventually none the less at war with Hitler, but because of Munich alone and without allies (an anticipation of 'we stood alone'). When in the nineteen-forties the atom bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and all the Anglo-American political pundits and strategic experts were exultingly proclaiming that armies and navies were henceforth out of date, that all power was in the hands of Britain and the United States, and that the Soviet Union would have to take a back seat, we wrote, within less than a fortnight of the dropping of the atom bomb, on August 21, 1945 ('The Atomic Bomb and World Power Relations', September, 1945), that the strategic assumptions of invincible self-sufficient atomic power were a fallacy, and wars would still have to be fought by people; that the atomic monopoly would not last long, and that those who calculated on Soviet science being unable rapidly to break it, once imperialism had compelled the devotion of talent and resources to this gruesome task, would soon find their fingers burned; that the temporary monopoly was not in reality Anglo-American, but American, with the British know-how having been handed over to the United States; that the tremendous costs involved would find finally only two powers with sufficient resources to become fully developed atomic powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, with Britain thrown into dependence on the United States; and that in consequence the atomic weapon was likely to prove, not the instrument of Anglo-American domination over the Soviet Union, but of American domination over a dependent Britain. This verdict within nine days of Nagasaki represented a not entirely inadequate rapid analysis of the prospective consequences of the development of the atomic weapon, subsequently confirmed over two years later by Professor Blackett's authoritative *Military and Political Consequences of Atomic Energy*, published in 1948, as well as the historical outcome leading to the current international situation.

Marxism, carried forward by Lenin into the conditions of the modern epoch, and further creatively developed today, is indeed the bow of Odysseus, powerful to reach its target and give guidance in the complex economic, social and political problems of today, provided there is sufficient strength and knowledge to use it. The bow of Odysseus was powerful to reach its target when it was wielded by Odysseus. But the many suitors who sought vainly to wield it came to an untimely end. Today, when the deep discredit of the

conventional theories and practice of the official capitalist world have led to wide and extending interest in Marxism, there is no lack of aspirant suitors who seek to formulate their special conception of 'Marxism,' usually comprising a confused porridge of their own mental muddles, solemnly set out as the new light of 'Marxist' wisdom in opposition to Leninism, which is described as a 'Russian variant' of Marxism or even as a 'distortion' of the true gospel of Marxism now newly revealed by this latest genius, and always in opposition to the living Marxist-Leninist movement. These aspirant suitors regularly come to a sticky end in the hot limelight of Western official broadcasting and the millionaire press. But this phenomenon is significant of the present phase. Time was when the anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaign was conducted under the familiar direct slogans of denouncing the communist world conspiracy, red subversion and the menace of world revolution. But the discredit of the capitalist world today is such that many of the younger generation are seeking a path of revolt against established institutions. Hence the old poison is dished up with new labels as the latest 'super-revolutionary' gospel; the Soviet Union is dismissed as a 'conservative' 'super-power' indistinguishable from the United States; the communist parties are disdained as 'not revolutionary enough.' The masquerade may deceive a few for a short time; but the alert soon discover that the practical content is the same old anti-communist, anti-Soviet crusade decked out in the latest modish clothes. All the serious elements of the younger generation who are eager to fight the existing social order are rapidly finding their way past this pap to align themselves with the living communist and associated left movement in the ranks of the class struggle and the struggle against imperialism.

The discredit of the capitalist social order reached such heights in the period between the wars that the Western rulers had recourse to the monstrous expedient of fascism to deflect the revolutionary advance, with the result that they landed mankind in the second world war. During that inter-war era also for the first decade they were boasting of their triumphs of capitalist stabilization and rationalization and technical advance and the 'new organized crisis-free capitalism' (President Hoover's exultant proclamation in 1928 that 'unemployment in the sense of distress is finally disappearing; we in America today are nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of any land'), only to be plunged into the depths of confusion when the crisis of their own system bore upon them. Of course the same forms never repeat themselves twice in the same way. But are we not today living through a new corresponding process in the basic features of the anarchy of capitalism? Once again the first phase of the successful capitalist restoration in the Western countries after the war has seen the renewed

boasts of the triumphs of the 'new capitalism' and the 'technological revolution,' the conquering of unemployment and the spread of 'affluence.' But now once again has ensued a phase of growing contradictions and uncertainty of direction, as the grandiose 'crusade against poverty' in the United States (forty years after Hoover's boast) is confronted with the actual revolt of the submerged and the oppressed in the cities of the wealthiest citadel of Western capitalism. Aubrey Jones, Chairman of the Prices and Incomes Board, declared to a regional advisory committee of the TUC in December, 1968, that 'there is a worldwide economic crisis, or at any rate a crisis affecting what we call the western world,' and went on to explain that it differed from that of the 1930s, since that was the result of worldwide deflation, whereas this was caused by 'a slow creeping insidious inflation.' Of course it is always possible that the present miseries of inflation may be followed by a new offensive of deflation inaugurated by the Nixon regime in the United States. 'It's like a Greek tragedy,' wrote the *Time Business News* on December 9, 1968: 'We can all see the catastrophe coming, but no one does anything to stop it.'

That inexhaustible fountain of a contradictory succession of all the confused ideas of the current capitalist world, Professor J. K. Galbraith, in his Reith lectures in 1966 sponsored the theory, which has become a favorite theme of all modern anti-communist propaganda (echoed also in current Trotskyist and Maoist diatribes which in this respect, as in so much else, dress up the actual content of Western capitalist theories with a sauce of 'revolutionary' phrases), that the Soviet Union has become indistinguishable from the United States as both representing large-scale industrial societies with only a difference of label:

"The convergence between the two ostensibly industrial systems, the one billed as socialism and that derived from capitalism, is a fact" (J. K. Galbraith, Reith lecture, *The Listener*, December 22, 1966).

But three years later he has popped out with a new theory. Writing on the fortieth anniversary of the New York stock market crash of October 1929, which opened the world economic crisis of 1929-32, he boldly predicts that it is 'certain' that it will be repeated:

"The only thing certain on the fortieth anniversary of the 1929 debacle is that some day, without fail, there will be another such disaster. The reason is that the stock market is inherently unstable . . . What is necessary for a new disaster is only for memories of the last one to fade and no one knows how long that takes" (J. K. Galbraith, in *Harper's Magazine*, quoted in *The Guardian*, November 29, 1969).

How does the theory of 'convergence' fit in with this prediction of a new Stock Market crash? Is he predicting, in accordance with

his theory of the 'fact' of 'convergence' of two systems differing only in the label, that there will also be a Stock Market crash in the Soviet Union? One is reminded of the story of the assiduous Japanese tourist in Moscow, who had equipped himself with the most thorough study of the latest American, Japanese and Maoist analyses of the social system in the Soviet Union, and accordingly, after having been shown the various buildings in Moscow, hopefully enquired of his guide: 'Please, where is Stock Market?'

As in the inter-war era, so today the menace of the present situation of deepening contradictions of the capitalist world is that this intensifies the drive to war which is always inherent in the nature of capitalism and imperialism. It is a remarkable feature of the new character of the modern international situation that this year twenty-five years will have passed since the end of the second world war, and yet that third world war which has been so ceaselessly predicted by the ghoulish spokesmen of Western imperialist strategy from the very moment of the ending of the second world war, and even before then, through all the frenzied calculations and dreams of the American world empire and the crushing of communism in the Dulles era, and the famous *Collier's Magazine* special issue depicting with abundant pictures (and contributions by J. B. Priestley and others) the anticipated third world war of 1952-60 culminating in a grandiose coverpiece of the American military occupation of Moscow in 1960, that third world war has not yet taken place. This is a measure of the new balance in the world, with the Soviet Union in the forefront, checking the full aggressive plans of imperialism.

The charlatan 'philosopher' Spengler calculated that it requires a lapse of twenty-five years from one great war to the next. On this basis he predicted in 1934 that the second world war would begin in 1939. This prediction proved arithmetically correct, though not the basis of calculation ignoring the social-political factors expressed in the fight for the combined peace front of Britain, France and the Soviet Union. But it is true that, with the twenty-five years which have now passed since the ending of the second world war, a new generation has grown up which has no memory of fascism or the war, and is being fed with a daily diet of falsified history and cold war indoctrination through all the mass organs of the press, radio and television, so that only the most energetic succeed in pushing their way through the poison gas field of lies to find the truth. Therefore the danger is serious. But the present situation of still unstable equilibrium is demonstrating that in the new world balance the forces exist to check the imperialist drive to a new world war, provided that unity is maintained.

But there is no room for idle illusions or satisfaction. The arms race has developed to heights never before equalled; and in all pre-

vious experience the piling up of rival armaments has always finally culminated in an explosion, when those armaments are used, whatever the character of the incident giving rise to the explosion. When NATO was established by the Western powers in 1949 as part of their plan to establish a Western anti-communist military bloc, with a rearmed German militarism as its main pillar (for this purpose dividing Germany and refusing the repeated Soviet proposals and pressure for a united Germany, since this would have meant a democratic disarmed Germany in accordance with Potsdam), and thereby compelling the subsequent formation of the Warsaw Pact, a crushing burden of arms expenditures was imposed on all its participants. Twenty years later the arms expenditure of NATO in 1968 has reached five times the total of 1949. At the same time, while world war has been held off, imperialist local wars of intervention and aggression, as against Korea and Vietnam, have taken on the character of major wars in the scale of armed forces involved, armaments and arms expenditure, casualties and wholesale destruction. The total of U.S. bombs dropped in Vietnam has exceeded the total of U.S. bombs dropped in the second world war. The Middle East is a storm center, as imperialism has repeatedly used Israel to launch successive wars of aggression and conquest against the still under-developed countries of Arab liberation.

But in spite of all the terrorist barbarity of imperialist wars and counter-revolution against the advance of the peoples, as shown in Vietnam, Indonesia or the NATO-organized coup in Greece to instal the torture regime of the colonels, the strategy of imperialism has failed to check the advance of the peoples over the world, and is now reaching its own crisis. The essence of President Nixon's broadcast of November 3 was to declare, not that the U.S. would cease to seek to dominate South East Asia, but that the infantry tasks and casualties should fall more on Asians ('Asia is for the Asians,' echoing the famous Eisenhower doctrine that 'Asians must fight Asians') so as never again to 'involve us in conflicts of the kind we have in Vietnam.'

In this crisis of NATO and all the assumptions of the old cold war strategy and bankrupt illusions of nuclear domination there are only two possible courses between which the choice has to be made. The common sense course is to move from the cold war to peaceful coexistence. This means to recognize that it is time to replace the hostile confrontation of NATO and the Warsaw Pact by a European Mutual Security Treaty, and for this purpose to support the proposal for a European Security Conference now demanded by so many European countries, but with the British Labor Government as the principal obstructionist holding it up. Similarly to check the ceaseless escalation of ever more destructive and costly nuclear weapons the first step is the Strategic Arms Limitation

Conference for which the initial negotiations have been begun by the U.S. and the Soviet Union at Helsinki.

In face of these storm clouds, the wars already in progress and the explosive situation in so many regions of the world, the fight for peace, in the sense of the fight to prevent a new world war, to win peaceful and just settlements in the regions of conflict in the world, and to promote the reduction of armaments and destruction and banning of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons of war is more than ever the urgent task of the seventies. This fight can only be won by the unity of all the forces of the peoples for peace in the world, the socialist countries, the countries of national liberation, the international working class and the supporters of peace in all countries. Such cooperation nearly reached the point to prevent the last war. All the forces are many time stronger today. Only division still permits imperialism to make inroads. To overcome such divisions and promote common action is the imperative need in order to meet the storms of the seventies. For all those who find guidance in the teachings of Marx and Lenin the call of Ho Chi Minh in his final testament to strive for 'the restoration of unity among the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism' sounds its burning appeal. Such unity provides the strongest foundation to promote the broad cooperation of the peoples all over the world in the cause of peace and social liberation, so that the coming decade, whatever the dangers and ordeals we still have to face, shall carry to new heights the march forward of humanity already achieved in this modern era which Lenin defined as the 'historical epoch' of 'the transition from capitalism to socialism.'

R.P.D.



UNDER THE PARTY'S GLORIOUS BANNER*

LE DUAN

FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CC, WORKING PEOPLE'S
PARTY OF VIETNAM

The people of Vietnam are a heroic people. They evinced national consciousness and fervent patriotism at the very beginning of the long struggle for the independence of their country. Refusing to submit to French colonial rule, they carried on an armed fight against the invaders and traitors for almost a century.

In the twenties of this century, our people's powerful liberation movement had to choose its road.

It was then that President Ho Chi Minh's genius and revolutionary activity helped in solving the urgent problems posed by history. He arrived at Marxism-Leninism and took the road of the proletarian revolution at an early date. "The proletarian revolution," he said, "is the only way to save our country and free our nation."

Ho Chi Minh's first important contribution was the fact that he linked the revolutionary movement in Vietnam with the international working-class movement and led the people along the road he himself had travelled — from patriotism to Marxism-Leninism. It was the only road to liberation, a road opened by the Great October Socialist Revolution for the working people and oppressed nations of the world.

Marxism-Leninism, the most revolutionary ideology of our time, combined with active struggle by the working class, the most revolutionary of classes, and close alliance with the peasantry and the patriotic movement of a nation in revolutionary ferment led to the founding of our Party on February 3, 1930.

This event marked a decisive turn in the revolutionary history of Vietnam. It meant that Marxism-Leninism had spread to a colonial, semi-feudal country, and it was the first necessary step towards the period of the strongest upsurge and greatest leap in the history of the Vietnamese nation, a leap which began with the August Revolution and the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The forty years' history of our Party and people is a glorious record of revolutionary struggle, of numerous revolutionary movements and heroic risings.

Led by the Party with the great Ho Chi Minh at its head, our people added magnificent chapters to their history and ushered

*Abridged from *Nhan Dan*, March 1970.

their country into the era of independence, freedom and socialism.

For the past forty years the victorious advance of the Vietnamese revolution has been linked with the progress of the world revolution in the new epoch, the epoch of worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the October Revolution. It has been linked with the brilliant victories of the Soviet Union, which defeated the fascist German-Italian-Japanese alignment, with the victory of the Chinese revolution, with the superior strength of the entire socialist community—the decisive factor in human progress—with the powerful national-liberation movement, the vast movement of the working class and other working people in the capitalist countries, and the worldwide movement for peace and democracy.

To achieve the magnificent victories they have to their credit, our Party and people had to go through untold difficulties and trials. The number of members of the Party cadre who gave their lives fighting under the Party's banner, demonstrating the heroic spirit of the foremost class and of the nation and displaying boundless devotion to their country, the cause of the people's freedom and invincible Marxism-Leninism! These examples of self-sacrifice live on in our people, our Party and the present generation, and will live on for generations to come.

Every step of our people and Party was linked with President Ho Chi Minh's outstanding revolutionary activity. His activity and the effort of our people and Party are a paean to the Vietnamese revolution.

Before and after World War I revolutionary situations, explosions and victories generally resulted in one way or another from wars unleashed by the imperialists. It does not follow, however, that war is a necessary source and condition of revolution and that one can therefore sit back and wait for war and then proceed to make revolution. Revolution in any country is primarily a result of class contradictions having become aggravated to the utmost. Formerly, when imperialist wars were inevitable, they objectively made for the maturing of revolutionary crises in various countries. Communists took advantage of this in an effort to turn imperialist war into revolutionary civil war.

The international situation today is entirely different from what it was before and after World War I. Now that the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist society, determine the main content, general trend and the main peculiarities of social development, the possibilities of destroying the weaker links of the imperialist chain are greater than ever. Furthermore, it has become really possible to prevent world war. The fundamental objectives of the proletariat and the peoples of the world are to maintain world peace and advance the revolution

in various countries. These two objectives are inseparable and condition each other. They can be achieved provided Communists are well versed in the offensive strategy of the world revolution and set up a united front of diverse trends of the world revolution, of all the forces fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, and provided they stand their ground against all wars of aggression started by the imperialists, foil their aggressive plans and schemes, force imperialism back step by step and eliminate it piecemeal as they advance to its final overthrow. The revolution in the south of our country is a true embodiment of this line of action.

The Third Congress of our Party* and subsequent meetings of the CC WPPV made a thorough and comprehensive analysis of the situation in the North of our country. "The most important aspect of the period behind us," they stressed, "is the advance from the condition of a backward agrarian country direct to socialism, by-passing the stage of capitalist development." Accordingly, the Congress and the Central Committee set a general course for the socialist revolution and determined the lines of development of the various branches of the national economy.

The revolution in the relations of production, the technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution are the three components of the socialist revolution. They are interlinked and interactive.

To set up large-scale socialist production in our country does not mean merely setting up a number of big enterprises in a number of economic branches. It means radically changing social production, restructuring the entire national economy and combining the reorganization of small-scale production with the laying of foundations for large-scale production.

Our Party set out on this difficult revolutionary course, taking guidance from Marxism-Leninism and using the experience of fraternal socialist countries and its own experience. It masters the laws of revolutionary progress and has decided on the policy to be followed. As we carry out the socialist revolution we are gaining experience in both building up the economy and remaking society. During the past years we have trained large numbers of executive and technical personnel and established new relations of production that are widely used in advancing the economy and in fighting against the U.S. aggression. We have provided a new material and technical basis for further progress. We get vast economic and technological assistance from fraternal countries and draw freely on their experience. This is the main factor helping us to advance.

Our country is not very big nor does it have a large population. Long a feudal country, it was subsequently enslaved by imperialism

*Held in September 1960.—Ed.

for almost a hundred years, with the very name of Vietnam struck off the map. It did not take our country and people long to rise and accomplish a consistently revolutionary process: the August Revolution, the war of Resistance against French imperialism, the socialist revolution in the North and the war of Resistance against U.S. imperialism—a war in defense of our country. This revolutionary process, which is of historic importance both nationally and internationally due to its nature and scale, raised our country and people to the level of the present epoch, the epoch of triumph of the supreme ideals of national independence, democracy and socialism.

The decisive factor for these historic victories was the founding of and leadership provided by our Party, a proletarian political party of a new type advancing firmly under the victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism, a loyal and perfect spokesman of the vital interests and genuine aspirations of the working class and other working people and the whole nation, a Marxist-Leninist party having a close-knit organization and traditions of unity and fused into one with the masses.

Our Party, equipped with the revolutionary scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism and using the valuable experience of over a hundred years of the world proletarian movement, led the revolutionary movement in Vietnam along the right path. It consistently accomplished the tasks of the people's democratic national revolution in the North and led North Vietnam to the socialist revolution while continuing the people's democratic revolution throughout the country.

The forty years' experience of the Vietnamese revolution is the experience of the triumph of Marxism-Leninism in a colonial and semi-feudal country. The history of our Party over the past forty years has been a record of creative application of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism in our national conditions. Our Party came into being and grew in a society in which the peasants make up the bulk of the population, and it brought a large number of people of peasant stock into its ranks. Nevertheless, our Party is, now as in the past, a revolutionary party of the working class, first of all because it has retained the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and is entirely devoted to it. This is why our Party's political and organizational line is a Marxist-Leninist line, the line of the working class. A consistent revolutionary doctrine, Marxism-Leninism guides our Party in solving all the problems of the Vietnamese revolution.

Our Party is a ruling one. It is a historic responsibility of every party in power not to reduce but to redouble its strength. The main issue of a revolution is the issue of power, as everyone knows. But among the revolutionary tasks facing the Party, among the tasks facing the proletariat in its class struggle, seizing power is

not the ultimate goal, and winning political power is the beginning of the revolution, not its end.

The policy of the new period was framed by the Third Congress of our Party and carried forward by subsequent meetings of our Central Committee. It constitutes our general line.

Party policy should proceed from the permanent objective laws of social development. Lenin, stressing the role of the objective factor for mankind, for a progressive party and the masses, insisted that the Communist parties cannot make policy according to their subjective desires, any more than they can make their emotions the starting point of their revolutionary strategy and tactics. Lenin's whole political activity was a splendid example of this.

Our Party attained maturity as it mastered the laws of the people's democratic national revolution and of people's war. However, we have taken only the first step in mastering the laws of the socialist revolution and in building socialism. We must make a greater effort than ever and reach much greater maturity in this respect if our Party is to become the full-fledged leader of society.

To raise its militancy and increase its leading role in every public sphere, the Party must steadily build up its strength. It must work harder than ever to master Marxism-Leninism and the development laws of socialist society. It must daily acquire greater skill in applying its knowledge in practice if it is to shape its general line and its policies correctly and in a creative spirit. The Party must build up its strength on all levels, from top to bottom.

Every Party member must have proper qualities if the Party and its every branch are to be strong. The Party should comprise the most advanced and politically conscious members of the working class, cooperative peasantry and socialist intelligentsia, the foremost members of our developing society, people absolutely loyal to the cause of the working class and the Party and closely linked with the masses, selfless, resolute and indefatigable fighters for the cause of the working class and other working people and the whole nation, for the triumph of socialist and communist ideals.

To express its gratitude to the founder and great teacher of our Party, the CC WPPV has resolved to admit new members this year. The campaign will be called the "Ho Chi Minh Enrolment." The admission of young people who will range themselves alongside experienced older members will enable the Party to be always in the van of the revolutionary movement of the masses, and will reinforce the Party branches, those advanced posts of the Party. As well as admitting new, really forward-looking people, we must resolutely rid the Party of those who have regressed and degenerated and are despised by the people, those who are not worthy of the name of member of the foremost revolutionary party. Their number today is not great but unless they are expelled the militancy of the

Party and the relations between Party and people may be gravely injured.

The main political task of our Party in the socialist revolution is to consolidate the position of the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry on the three revolutions, the most pressing of which is the technological revolution. The militancy of the Party and the high qualities and sound knowledge of its cadre and membership should express themselves specifically in the fulfilment of these tasks.

Our Party has great esteem for the intellectuals because they constitute an indispensable force in the fight for national liberation and in building socialism and communism. The working class needs a numerous intelligentsia of its own. Besides, the Party should provide conditions for the workers and peasants to assimilate the latest achievements of science and technology in order to increase production, carry forward the technological revolution and promote the people's culture. We must see to it that every Party leader has a definite knowledge of the economic, scientific or technological sphere under his charge in addition to an adequate political standard.

A Marxist-Leninist party derives its strength from cohesion, from ideological and organizational unity. This is the best tradition of our Party. What enabled our Party to come through all trials in history and to lead the revolution to victory was its invariable unity and cohesion. Lenin said that the proletariat can achieve nothing without organization while an organized and united proletariat can achieve anything. Party unity becomes still more important when the Party wins power, for it is impossible to maintain the gains of the revolution and accomplish the greatest and most difficult task in history, the unprecedented task of building an entirely new society—socialist society—unless there is unity of will, ideology and action in the Party, the leading force of society.

Our Party has been carrying forward the tradition of close unity and cohesion for forty years of bitter struggle marked by many victories. Fulfilling President Ho Chi Minh's testament, "to cherish Party unity as the apple of its eye." Our Party will never tolerate any manifestation of factionalism whatever. It regards separatism and factionalism in the Party as the gravest crime against the revolution.

Party unity is based on Marxism-Leninism, whose purity it steadfastly preserves. Democratic centralism, the main organizational principle of the Party, safeguards its ideological unity. Democratic centralism makes it the duty and guaranteed right of every Party member to discuss and take part in deciding all Party matters, to express in his Party organization his opinion on any question involving the interests of the revolution. Full scope for the intelligence and democratic rights of every member within the framework of

the Program and Rules evolved by the whole Party is a most important earnest of the vitality of the Party.

Pressure in the ideological field is a practice alien to a proletarian party and the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. However, ideological freedom does not at all mean that the Party should become a debating club. The Party is a militant organization which must act in battle as one man. This is why the principle requiring that the minority submit to the majority, the lower organizations to the higher ones, the part to the whole and the whole Party to the Central Committee, the Party's highest leading body between congresses, is the fundamental principle of democratic centralism. Violation of this principle is regarded as a violation of the Party's iron discipline and an infringement of Party unity. "Whoever relaxes the iron discipline of the proletariat's party (especially under the dictatorship of the proletariat) to any extent," Lenin said, "is virtually helping the bourgeoisie against the proletariat."

Party leadership is always based on the principle of collectivism. One-man rule is a practice contrary to the nature of the Party. One person, however outstanding the qualities he may have, cannot understand everything, cannot know every aspect of every matter or phenomenon. This is why collective wisdom is needed. Only when decisions are made collectively, being prompted by collective wisdom, is it possible to avoid subjectivism, which leads to mistakes and occasionally has dangerous consequences. The principle of collectivism is the highest principle of Party leadership. This by no means implies reducing the individual leader's responsibility. Some leading comrades today neglect the principle of collective leadership. Others expect the collective body to deal with every matter, and when a mistake is made involving damage they blame the collective body, refusing to assume their share of responsibility. We must end this state of affairs.

Criticism and self-criticism are a highly important factor for Party unity and cohesion. They are a development law of the Party.

The Party should be strong in both formulating and implementing its policies. It should be strong politically, ideologically and organizationally; strong in setting up a competent state apparatus and economic management bodies; strong by maintaining close contact with the masses, by steadily consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and promoting socialist democracy; strong by its knowledge of the development laws of society, by constant victories for the cause of the revolution of the working class and the nation, whose organizer and leader it is. The source of our Party's strength is its unity and cohesion on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the organizational principles of the proletarian party of the new type.

We are determined to continue building up the strength of the

Party so that it may properly accomplish the historic mission assigned it by its class and the nation.

After World War II socialism transcended the bounds of one country and became a world system. Due to tremendous victories, the socialist community is continuously increasing its influence as the decisive factor for human progress, as the bulwark of the revolution and the struggle for world peace. The powerful upsurge in the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America led to the abolition of the system of colonial bondage to a large extent. The struggle to break the chains of colonialism and neo-colonialism now going on deals telling blows at the hinterland of imperialism.

The three great revolutionary forces operating alongside the worldwide peace movement are carrying on an all-out offensive against imperialism, leading to a radical change in the balance of world forces in favor of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Backed by an alliance of these forces, the peoples of the world can frustrate all criminal designs and provocative war-mongering moves by the imperialists, first of all the U.S. imperialists.

Imperialism is being struck blow upon blow by the world revolutionary forces and has to abandon one position after another. The hardest hit is U.S. imperialism, which plays the role of world policeman. It is perfectly obvious that the world revolutionary process today is in the stage of an increasingly powerful offensive.

To counter the wars unleashed by U.S. imperialism and the plans for a new world war being laid by imperialist warmongers, and to achieve still greater victories for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress, it is necessary to form a united front of the peoples of the world against U.S. imperialism. This front should be based on the socialist countries, the international Communist and working-class movement and the national liberation movement. It should involve the mass of the people, those who cherish peace and justice. All the potentialities of the peoples of the world must be mobilized for the common goal, which is to isolate the U.S. imperialists, their allies in military blocs and their puppets, for the struggle to defeat their aggressive plans and moves, maintain peace and ensure the continuous advance of the world revolution.

The intense class struggle going on throughout the world makes it imperative to restore and strengthen unity in the socialist camp and the international Communist and working-class movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This is the only way to unite the revolutionary forces of the world against imperialism, frustrate imperialist plans for a military offensive and for subversion against the socialist countries, plans for the

suppression of the international Communist and working-class movement.

Our people are very proud of their role of front-line revolutionary fighters of the peoples of the world against U.S. imperialism, the worst enemy of mankind. We vow to give our all to defeat the U.S. imperialists and their puppets and carry our war of Resistance through to final victory. This will mean accomplishing our sacred national and internationalist duty and will make us worthy of the confidence of our brothers and friends on the five continents.

Ever since it came into being our Party has sought unity with the international proletariat, with the revolutions in colonies and semi-colonies, regarding this as a task of fundamental importance and a factor for the victory of the revolution in our country. This correct international line of our Party has expressed itself in our revolution at all times. We owe it to this line that we are daily winning growing support and assistance from the world revolutionary movement. On the other hand, it has helped us to educate our people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and irreconcilability towards the nationalist views of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. It has enabled us to defeat attempts by the imperialists and their puppets to divide our ranks. And it has also encouraged our people to contribute actively to the worldwide revolutionary struggle.

Following President Ho Chi Minh's behests, our Party has always tried and will continue trying to promote to the best of its ability the restoration and consolidation of the unity of the socialist commonwealth and the brother parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Throughout the past forty years, at every stage of the Vietnamese revolution, and particularly from the August Revolution to the present period of the war of Resistance against the U.S. imperialists, for the salvation of our country, we have had active support and sincere assistance from fraternal socialist countries, the international Communist and working-class movement, the national liberation movement and all the peoples of the world who treasure peace and justice.

Our Party, steeled in forty years of continuous trial and sacrifice and forty years of struggle and increasing maturity and enriched by revolutionary experience, is bound to accomplish its historic mission, which is to lead our people in the fight for national liberation and for a further advance along the radiant road of mankind, the road of socialism and communism.

This year, in which we commemorate the 40th anniversary of our Party, is also the 25th year of the founding of our state, the 80th year since the birth of our beloved President Ho Chi Minh and the 100th year since the birth of the great Lenin.

Along with the world Communist movement and the whole of

progressive mankind, our Party and people will with the greatest enthusiasm celebrate the centenary of the birth of Lenin, brilliant leader and great revolutionary, teacher of the working class and other working people, of the oppressed peoples of the world. Lenin, the continuator of the work of Marx and Engels, gave us Communists and revolutionary fighters an invincible weapon. This weapon is the treasury of his theory and the immense experience of his revolutionary struggle. In studying Lenin's great legacy and in following the road charted by him, we vow everlasting allegiance to the invincible Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

In accordance with the behests of our dear President Ho Chi Minh, our Party, people and Army will close their ranks under the Party's glorious banner to defeat the U.S. aggressors, build socialism and make a fitting contribution to the revolutionary cause of the peoples of the world.

RESOLUTION*

CC, BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The resolution gives the main lines of the territorial distribution of the country's productive forces for the next 15-20 years.

The CC BCP attaches primary importance to the territorial distribution of the productive forces, the resolution notes. Industrialization and the reorganization of agriculture on socialist lines, carried out with the fraternal aid of the USSR and in cooperation with other socialist countries, enabled Bulgaria gradually to eliminate the irrational territorial system of production inherited from capitalism and to introduce a new system meeting the economic laws of socialism.

The BCP policy of socialist industrialization and judicious territorial distribution of the productive forces made it possible to use manpower resources more effectively. A considerable proportion of manpower was transferred from agriculture to a fast-growing industry. Appreciable progress has been achieved in a number of formerly backward areas. A new aspect of the territorial distribution of the productive forces is that part of the investment goes into the building of enterprises in certain medium-sized and small towns. As many as 675 industrial enterprises were built in such towns during the past decade.

The CC BCP, while noting the headway made in setting up a judicious territorial system of production, set new tasks in this field that were prompted by building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria and by the rapid progress of the scientific and technological revolution.

The resolution calls for a single system of control of the territorial distribution of the productive forces. In addition to long-term forecasts of development in the economy as a whole and in various branches there will be forecasts of the socio-economic development of various territorial economic units. They will concern the state, prospects and economic estimation of the natural resources of each district, population trends in terms of sex and age, and changes in the network of population centers. The socio-economic development of the various territorial units will be planned within the framework of development forecasts and plans for the whole country. The territorial system of distribution of the productive forces and the socio-economic development of territorial

*BTA release, March 9, 1970.

units will be managed by means of an integral mechanism that will be part of the overall socio-economic management mechanism.

The CC BCP, the resolution goes on to say, sees the main purpose of the territorial management of socio-economic development in raising the efficiency of social production and in solving the social problems of the various territorial units. Regional analyses, models and forecasts of the development of various industries and branches will be used as a basis for devising models and drawing up plans of optimal territorial concentration and specialization of production. Judicious territorial concentration and specialization will be planned according to a common criterion of economic efficiency. New production capacities will be so distributed as to cut expenditures of social labor in every phase of the reproduction process with due regard to spending on house-building, urbanization and other measures meeting the requirements of new contingents of workers and their families.

Mobile branches of production that are relatively independent of raw material and consumption areas will be situated in territorial centers, their concentration and specialization being effected in branch complexes, within one or several districts.

The zoning, concentration and specialization of agricultural production is to be improved. Steps will be taken to introduce further effective forms of cooperation between industry and agriculture, first of all agrarian-industrial complexes. With this aim in view, the seasonal character of employment will be abolished.

Implementation of these measures is to begin in the next five-year period (1971-1975), the resolution states.

A chief department in charge of the territorial distribution of the productive forces will be set up under the State Planning Committee. It will cooperate with other departments and agencies in developing a general pattern of the territorial distribution of social production for the period from 1971 to 1990.

The resolution specifies the tasks and role of People's Councils and research institutes in this reorganization.

It envisages measures to improve Party work in connection with the territorial distribution of the productive forces.

TASKS OF THE PARTY AFTER THE CANTONAL ELECTIONS*

The Central Committee of the French Communist Party approves the Political Bureau report, presented by Comrade André Vieuguet, on the results of the cantonal elections, the evolution of the political situation in France and the popular struggles since the 19th Congress.

The Communist Party registered gains in the very first round of the cantonal elections in spite of disparities.

Recognized by growing numbers of working people as the great party of democratic renovation fighting consistently for the alliance needed to bring about a bold change of policy, the FCP won about 24 per cent of the votes.

In the second round the agreements on reciprocal withdrawal concluded between the Left-wing parties in the majority of cantons ensured the election of numerous democratic opposition candidates, which is evidence of a continuing strong aspiration for unity.

The results of the cantonal elections show that the Left-wing parties could prevail on a large majority of the people to fight for a new regime if they formed an explicit and loyal alliance based on a common government program, as the Communists propose.

The lack of this alliance puts off the prospect for far-reaching democratic change. It enables the reactionary parties to hold their positions, and the monopolies to tighten their grip on national life.

Indeed, the preparation of the Sixth Plan and government measures in recent weeks have been prompted by the regime's desire to extend in authoritarian fashion the big capitalist companies' domination over the riches of the country.

The proposed options and measures are designed to hasten the concentration of industrial and financial resources and to increase their power in favor of the capitalist groups most likely to impose themselves on the world market. The regime is out to put the burden of industrial development on the masses by freezing wages and by cutting investment in public services and facilities. At the same time, in spite of persistent differences of interest, it is tightening its links with U.S. imperialism, as Pompidou's trip to the United States showed, and laying the economy open to foreign investments, thus imperilling the foundations of national independence.

Faced with the discontent of diverse social strata, the regime continues to seek class cooperation and a respite from the struggle

**Humanité*, March 23, 1970.

of the working-class and democratic forces. It uses provocative activities by Leftist groups as an excuse for authoritarian steps.

Centrist activity is an aspect of the policy of the big bourgeoisie. It is assuming new dimensions due to the manifesto of the Radical Party. This "manifesto" is intended to prevent any agreement of the Left-wing parties, divert a certain number of working people from the fight for democracy and socialism and integrate part of the opposition forces into an eventual new reactionary alignment of the present regime.

At a time when the most negative aspects of the government's policy are becoming more pronounced, when the people's profound discontent expresses itself in numerous actions in support of various demands and unity is vigorously insisted on, the Central Committee calls on the Party organizations and membership to popularize the great ideas of the 19th Congress and display initiative in struggles for social and political objectives.

The 19th Congress, taking into account the changes coming about in society, specified our program and our proposals, which constitute a daring and realistic response to the needs of today's world and would make it possible to assure at once economic growth and the satisfaction of important demands of the people and of social requirements.

We support the legitimate demands of all who are hit by the policy of the big bourgeoisie. Our fighting methods help in developing the mass movement and make it easier to achieve the required unity of all working-class and democratic forces.

Our program, our proposals and the unitary spirit of all our actions afford every social stratum interested in political change an opportunity fully to take part in the fight for democracy and socialism.

These political perspectives, defined by the 19th Congress, meet the needs of the people and the national interest. They would assure the development of exchange and cooperation with all countries, meet the requirements of our time and consolidate the independence and world prestige of France.

These perspectives can rally all other democratic forces around the working class, whose role is steadily growing.

In addition to the important propaganda effort they will make and to their increased participation in social and political struggles, the Central Committee calls on the Party organizations and membership to improve their political and ideological work and to recruit numerous members, especially in the enterprises.

To disseminate the ideas of the 19th Congress and strengthen Party organizations means promoting the struggle, facilitating the unity of the working class and its alliance with other non-monopoly

strata and stepping up the fight for democracy and socialism. It means working for the national interest, for the greatness of France. Arcueil, March 21, 1970.

BRINGING GRIST TO THE IMPERIALIST MILL*

ANTI-SOVIET CAMPAIGN BY PEKING

Loyal to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Central Committee and the Soviet government steadfastly pursue a Leninist foreign policy inspired by proletarian internationalism.

"The foreign policy of the Soviet state," the 23rd Congress of the CPSU stated, 'is intended to provide, together with other socialist countries, favorable international conditions for building socialism and communism; to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and promote their friendship and brotherhood; to support national liberation movements and cooperate in every way with new developing states; consistently to uphold the principle of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, firmly to resist aggressive imperialist forces, and deliver mankind from a new world war.'

This foreign policy is actively backed by fraternal socialist countries and has the unqualified approval of the world revolutionary movement. At the Moscow international Meeting delegates of Communist and Workers' parties pointed out that imperialism had been unable, for all its counter-attacks, to change the overall balance of forces in its favor; that world war had been prevented due to the growing power and peace policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, action by the international proletariat and other fighters against imperialism, for national liberation, and the vast scope of the peace movement; that socialism had scored new gains in the worldwide battle for people's hearts and minds.

However, the imperialists would no longer be imperialists had they reconciled themselves to this. They have not. They try again and again to weaken the positions of socialism by hook or by crook, to put down the national liberation movement, prevent the working people in the capitalist countries from stepping up their class struggle and stave off the inevitable collapse of capitalism.

The imperialist policy of aggression is spearheaded against the socialist countries. A favorite device of bourgeois propaganda is to portray the Soviet Union as an "aggressive" country. This lie has been always used to justify the arms race and imperialist war pre-

**Pravda*, March 19, 1970.

paration. The imperialists hope that a lie repeated again and again can influence the uninformed people.

Pravda has already commented on the West's calumny about an "imminent" Soviet attack on the PRC and the "deployment of troops" to launch the attack. Those who spread this slander insist that it is the West, primarily the United States, that stands by the Chinese people. On the eve of a regular U.S.-Chinese meeting in Warsaw, J. Hightower, AP diplomatic commentator, alleged again that differences with the Soviet Union compelled Peking to revise its traditionally hostile attitude to the United States. He made clear that in the event of a Sino-Soviet conflict—which U.S. imperialism would welcome—the Peking leadership could count on a benevolent attitude on the part of the USA.

The stance of Western propaganda on Soviet-Chinese relations is easy to explain. It follows from the nature of imperialism, which tries to profit by every opportunity to weaken socialism and to tip the balance of world forces in its own favor. The current imperialist maneuver is designed to obstruct the Soviet-Chinese talks in Peking and prevent the restoration of normal relations between the two countries. There is nothing new about this, nor could imperialism be expected to act in any other way.

It is noteworthy, however, that anti-Soviet stories made up in the West fall on fertile ground in China. The Chinese press chimes in with them more and more often. Hardly a day passes without its carrying another anti-Soviet libel or a new call to prepare for a big war. Peking goes on digging slit trenches and building bomb shelters in all haste. Eyewitnesses report similar preparations in other Chinese cities.

All propaganda media are being used to acquaint every Chinese with the "latest instructions," which urge him to begin preparing for war "today." "At present everything is tested, appraised and done from the standpoint of war preparedness," wrote *Chiehfang-chunpao*, the Army newspaper.

Industry is being geared to setting up small enterprises that will supply their own needs and to dispersing large enterprises. The workers and peasants are advised to cut what is already a low rate of consumption, not to count on economic aid from the state and to "prepare for hunger."

What war is meant? Chinese propaganda, which has discarded all class approach, describes the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as "enemies of the Chinese people." It plainly draws on the absurd allegation of the bourgeois press about the "threat of attack on China from the north" in hammering home the need to prepare for an "early" and "large-scale" war against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The imperialists applaud Peking's provocative vociferation. The

New York Times said Washington realized that the attacks of the Chinese press on the United States and other imperialist countries today were merely a smokescreen for public opinion at home and abroad veiling the new flexibility of the Chinese position. The American press notes that Peking's criticism of the U.S. is a matter of secondary importance. The *New York Times* wrote that it was for Moscow and not Washington that Peking's vocabulary had the sharpest words.

The imperialists took note of certain statements made at the Ninth Congress of the CPC. These indicated that the Chinese leaders would seek closer relations with the capitalist countries while "resolutely supporting" every struggle against "revisionist" socialist countries. The imperialists welcome the Chinese leadership's claim that there are "irreconcilable differences" between the Soviet Union and the PRC.

Yes, it is against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries that Chinese propaganda is spearheaded today. The achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and these countries' Leninist foreign policy — a thoroughly principled policy prompted by proletarian internationalism—are seen by Peking as a threat to its present home and foreign policy. By attacking socialist countries, Peking also strikes at the internal forces opposed to the adventuristic policy that is being imposed on the country. *Jenmin-jihpao* and other publications attack those who refuse to share Peking's official policy and want to maintain the foundations of socialism, restore the economy and raise the standard of living.

What *Jenminjihpao* says about the "lack of political consciousness" among people or the existence of numerous "enemies" confirms the population's discontent with the plight of the country. Purges and loyalty check-ups now affect both those who reject the "cultural revolution" and those who are carrying it out. The "revolutionary committees," vested with full powers at the local level, are reshuffled again and again.

The "cultural revolution" did not produce the results its organizers had hoped for. It could not make either Communists or other spokesmen of the working class, the peasants, the intellectuals and the armed forces renounce Marxism-Leninism and the glorious path travelled by the Communist Party of China as it fought for the victory of the people's revolution and for socialist development. The military bureaucratic regime being established in China is clashing more and more obviously with the socialist basis which the Chinese people began to build after the victory of the revolution.

There are diverse forces active on the Chinese political scene. The Peking leadership has been unable to rally them together for "united action." Indeed, how can one "unite" those against whom the "Red Guard" storm troops were pitted, with those who organ-

ized the "cultural revolution"? What "common interests" are there to unite the Chinese working class with members of the national bourgeoisie who continue with the blessing of the present Chinese leadership to exploit the working people in both China and other countries where they own enterprises?

As regards the Chinese youth, millions of young men and women are being forced out of the towns, including people who were misled by demagoguery about the "cultural revolution" into joining the "Red Guard." They are now regarded — not groundlessly — as inflammable material, as people who have shed their illusions about the policy of the Peking rulers and have therefore become a social category against which overt or covert repressive measures must be taken. Many of them are arrested, tried and executed.

To "inject new blood" into the bureaucratic machinery and to militarize the country still further, use is made of the myth about the "threat from the north." Chauvinist sentiments are fomented by resorting to anti-Sovietism and the theory of the "special" role of China in today's world, in which China is supposed to have become the only "bulwark" of the world revolution.

Writing editorially on New Year's Day, *Jenminjihpao*, *Chiehfang-chunpao* and the journal *Hungchi* spelled out the "latest instructions" for the seventies, making it clear that China will continue the policy of militarization, war preparations, and hostility towards the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Neither these nor other Chinese periodicals put forward any specific program for China's economic development. After all, the main objective is to set up a military complex, and this stamps the entire economy. The army has been assigned the unusual function of managing the social and economic affairs of the country, as was done earlier under the militarist regime established in China by the Kuomintang. Reports about the achievements of this or that enterprise cannot conceal the fact that industry is slow in overcoming the difficulties caused by the "cultural revolution." Cereals, meat, butter, sugar, textiles and other manufactured goods are still strictly rationed.

Chinese propaganda tries by talking about "imminent war" and the "threat from the north" to make the population resign itself to the present difficulties and to tighten their belts. It even calls on the workers and peasants to "transform hatred" for the Soviet Union and other socialist countries into a "productive force", hoping to use anti-Sovietism as a means of stabilizing the domestic situation.

Judging by the record of the Ninth Congress of the CPC, the Chinese leadership lost faith in the creative power of the people after the abortive "Big Leap." The Peking press, echoing well-known Trotskyist concepts, affirms that socialism "cannot" be built

before "the world revolution triumphs." It is suggested that the completion of socialist construction in China be put off for several generations. The triumph of the world revolution is made conditional on an "inevitable world war." "The proletariat cannot dispense with war," *Chiehfangjihpao* wrote, "if it wants to achieve final victory throughout the world . . ." It is alleged that this war would make it possible to overthrow the regimes of a number of socialist countries, against which the present rulers of China are busy setting the people. They do not stop to think that a new world war would be a terrible calamity for the peoples, including the Chinese, and would take hundreds of millions of lives. All they are interested in is how to achieve their chauvinist and hegemonistic objectives through that war. The flames of war, *Hungchi* commented, would become the "bright and colorful dawn of a new era", that is, the "era" the Peking leaders long for.

This attitude, which, moreover, is proclaimed unabashedly and publicly, is a godsend to the imperialists in their struggle against the socialist countries and the working-class and national liberation movement. Small wonder that bourgeois propaganda offers its patronage to those who are busy whipping up war hysteria in China. A few days ago the *Christian Science Monitor* declared that criticism against the Chinese leadership over the war hysteria it was fanning was outdated.

The attempt to justify the effort to create an atmosphere of war hysteria in China by means of the imperialist fabrication about the "Soviet threat" is not original at all. The same trick was used in the past by the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which did the bidding of imperialist powers. One is struck, however, by the timing of the new effort to foment anti-Sovietism and of the call for war. It is common knowledge that this campaign was started shortly after the Soviet-Chinese border talks opened.

Would Peking be trying in this way to exert pressure on the Soviet Union and influence the talks? Anyone who imagines that the Soviet Union is the only one to have an interest in defining the Soviet-Chinese frontier is very wrong.

Only the shortsighted and those who take a deliberately preconceived approach to the problem can ignore its connection with the general content of Soviet-Chinese relations. The record of these relations shows that the working people of China were able to achieve victory for the people's revolution and embark their country on a socialist course with active Soviet support and that Soviet friendship and cooperation helped them to make progress in building a new life.

Conversely, the Chinese leaders' present policy of hostility to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries marks a turn towards political, economic and cultural regression. The vaunted "cultural

revolution," the introduction of military bureaucratic practices and the fanning of nationalist hysteria in China have had dire consequences for the Chinese people.

Chinese propaganda is wasting its time slandering the Soviet Union and its home and foreign policy. The Soviet Union has invariably championed peace and friendship among nations and opposed imperialist aggression and the use of force in solving international disputes.

Everyone knows that the sharp deterioration of Soviet-Chinese relations was not the Soviet Union's fault. The policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Government towards China was made clear by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. It was also set out in the Soviet government's statements on March 29 and June 13, 1969, in the resolutions of the June meeting of the CC CPSU and the decisions of the Sixth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. It proceeds from the coincidence of the long-range interests of the Soviet and Chinese peoples in building socialism.

As regards Peking's sabre-rattling and threats against the Soviet Union, no one should forget that attempts to talk with the Soviet Union arms in hand will be firmly resisted. We have all that we need to safeguard the interests of the Soviet people, who are building communism, against all encroachments.

Repeating imperialist propaganda's lies about the "Soviet threat," abusing or slandering our country cannot make the Chinese people forget the good deeds they associate with the Soviet Union. In China there are memorials to Soviet soldiers who gave their lives fighting for our common cause against our common enemies. The Chinese people take legitimate pride in the steel plants of Anshan, Wuhan and Paotow and the engineering plants of Chanchun, Shenyang and Dairen, all of which were built with Soviet aid. The Soviet people sent to China plant and machinery they badly needed themselves, but they sent them proceeding from the great principles of proletarian internationalism and from the desire to further socialism in China and friendship and cooperation with the Chinese people.

China can achieve national rebirth and advance along the socialist path only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The Chinese people, like any other people, are interested in lasting peace and not in war, for only in a peaceful climate can they advance their economy, culture and living standard.

Internationalist revolutionaries remember what Lenin said about social chauvinists: "Only the lazy do not swear by internationalism today . . . All the more urgent is the duty of a proletarian party to counterpose internationalism in deed to internationalism in word with the utmost clarity, precision and determination." This fully

applies to the present policy of the Chinese leadership. There can be no question of fighting against imperialism if the main effort is aimed at splitting the anti-imperialist front, at undermining the positions of world socialism and raising obstacles to joint action in support of the embattled people of Vietnam. Internationalism is incompatible with anti-Sovietism, with struggle against socialist countries, with activity undermining socialist development in one's own country.

I. Alexandrov

PHILOSOPHICAL REVISIONISM TODAY: ITS NATURE AND FUNCTION

ALFRED KOSING

The political and ideological function of revisionism cannot be seen in isolation from the bitter class struggle between socialism and imperialism which constitutes the main content of our epoch, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. The well-known definition saying that at the beginning of this century revisionism embodied bourgeois influence on the working-class movement, which it put under the sway of bourgeois ideology, has long been inadequate for understanding the role of modern revisionism. Today the latter is directed against the world socialist system as a reality. It tries, first of all, to undermine and disrupt the leading force of socialist society, the party of the victorious revolutionary working class, and its socialist consciousness. In harmony with imperialism's global strategy—stubbornly ignored by the revisionists—destructive revisionist criticism of socialist society helps to clear the decks for anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary activity.

It follows that modern revisionism does not merely expose the working-class movement to bourgeois ideology but *morally paves the way for counter-revolution* by its ideological and political subversion in the socialist countries. The activity of certain political and theoretical spokesmen of revisionism may subjectively have other aims but the objective effect of their views depends on the actual conditions of the class struggle between socialism and imperialism and not in their desires. “. . . It is not,” Lenin said, “a matter of intentions, motives or words but of the objective situation, independent of them, that determines the fate and significance of slogans, of tactics or, in general, of the trend of a given party or group” (Vol. 19, p. 262).

Modern revisionism has come into being, and is active, in conditions of the existence and progress of socialism as a world system, the development of the Communist movement into the most influential political force of world history and a bitter political, economic and ideological contest between the two social systems, socialism and imperialism. The totality of these conditions explains the new, extended function of revisionism as the ideological pace-maker of anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary forces.

In line with its global strategy, imperialism tries through ideological subversion to force its way into the socialist countries and

the Communist movement and undermine them from within. "To erode the Communist and the whole revolutionary movement from within is now one of the most important directions of the class strategy of imperialism," said Comrade Brezhnev.* In so doing imperialism draws in substantial measure on the support of modern revisionism, which it steadily involves in its global strategy, encouraging it in every way and programming it ideologically. This makes the theoretical and ideological fight against and refutation of modern revisionism an indispensable component of the ideological fight of the Communist and Workers' parties against imperialism and a prerequisite of the creative application and advancement of Marxist-Leninist theory. The resolution on the results of the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties adopted by the 11th Plenum of the CC SUPG said: "The Socialist Unity Party of Germany continues to regard principled struggle against bourgeois ideology, in defense of our Marxist-Leninist doctrine, against Right and Left opportunist deviations in theory and politics, against revisionism, dogmatism and Left sectarian adventurism as a task of primary importance."

It has long been an open secret that imperialist agencies in charge of strategic planning and leadership deliberately foster revisionism, that they determine its political guidelines and send it into action according to plan, seeing it as an exceedingly important weapon against socialism and the revolutionary working-class movement. Imperialist ideological centers misuse the vastly increased interest in Marxism-Leninism in the capitalist countries by dishing up the entire revisionist heritage of the past and present in an effort to make access to Marxism-Leninism more difficult and bring confusion into the ranks of progressive forces. Furthermore, the large-scale dissemination of bourgeois ideas has created, and continues to create, favorable conditions for the acceptance of revisionist concepts.

Under the imperialist system of society, revisionism has its social basis primarily in the privileged sections of the working class "integrated" into the capitalist system through numerous benefits. It is also propitiated by changes in the social composition of the working class resulting from the scientific and technological revolution. Furthermore, the proletarianized sections of the petty bourgeoisie provide fertile ground for reformist and revisionist views. Changes in the social standing of the intellectuals, for their part, are very important.

In the socialist countries too, revisionist views can become widespread, even though the factors operating there are different. The new period of development of socialism, which has set in with the

*International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Prague 1969, p. 155.

scientific and technological revolution, the transformation of the components of socialist society into a single system and the transition to a qualitatively new stage in the international division of labor and cooperation, poses extremely complicated theoretical and practical problems. These can be solved only if the Communist parties join efforts in creatively advancing and enriching Marxist-Leninist theory and practice.

"The new problems of socialist development," said Walter Ulbricht, "can be neither put off nor solved by means of loans from the capitalist world. No Marxist-Leninist party is exempt from strenuous scientific and creative effort to evolve a correct strategy and tactics according to the objective laws of Marxism-Leninism."*

What should be taken into account first of all, however, is the intense ideological subversion with which imperialism tries to "soften" socialism from within. Experience shows that when the class struggle in the ideological sphere becomes aggravated and imperialism therefore steps up its efforts to smuggle the most diverse anti-socialist ideas into the socialist countries, revisionism, and hence the attempt to spread Social-Democratic ideas, plays a special role.

It was on this basis or under the influence of these factors that a new revisionist trend posing as "modern Marxism," "democratic socialism" or even "renovated communism" developed within the international working-class movement. Among the more prominent theoretical spokesmen of this modern revisionism are Henri Lefebvre, Roger Garaudy, Leszek Kolakowski, Ernst Fischer, Axel Laren, Ota Sik, Karel Kosik, Julius Strinka and Gajo Petrovic. Most of them have already been expelled from the respective Communist parties, but this has by no means eliminated their theoretical and ideological influence.

This "new" revisionism has been assuming ever more distinct forms during the past years. Put in simple terms, the fundamental idea of modern revisionism may be said to consist of the following allegations: Leninism is not the universally valid continuation of Marxism but a specifically Russian development, and hence it is necessary to go back to the "true" Marx; socialism in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries does not correspond to Karl Marx's theory but is a "bureaucratic-étatist" deformation of socialism, and hence, it is necessary to create a "new model" of socialism combining socialism with "democracy and freedom."

This fundamental idea of modern revisionism is also nationalistic because it is directed against the universal validity of Leninism and the international significance of socialism in the Soviet Union. This concept unites Right- and Left-wing revisionists. "At present," said

*Walter Ulbricht, *Die Rolle des sozialistischen Staates der Gestaltung des entwickelten gesellschaftlichen Systems Sozialismus* (The Role of the Socialist State in Forming the Developed Social System of Socialism). *Schriftenreihe des Staatsrates*, Heft 6, 1968, S. 16/17.

Wladyslaw Gomulka at the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, "nationalism, undeniably the common denominator of all centrifugal tendencies of both the dogmatic and revisionist types, is the chief ideological threat to the unity of the world Communist movement and the unity of the socialist movement. Both Leftist dogmatism and revisionism rooted in Social-Democratic soil direct their anti-Leninist edge against the unity of the Communist movement."*

However different the outer forms of modern revisionism may be as to particulars, they are identical in substance as far as these basic views are concerned.

Obviously, it would be absurd for a party promptly to accuse other parties of revisionism merely because it happened to differ with them over theoretical or practical matters. Differences of opinion are perfectly possible and at some stages of development even inevitable. They can play a positive part in creative discussion and in effort to contribute to Marxist-Leninist theory. This applies to discussion both on the international level and inside a party. In the case of revisionism, however, it is a question, not of the possible range of differences *within the framework and on the basis of Marxism-Leninism* nor of its creative advancement, but of abandoning *principles* and fundamental conclusions of Marxism-Leninism *in favor of bourgeois concepts*.

Present-day revisionism, especially in the form it took in the previous decade, differs, of course, from earlier revisionism owing to modifications of its theoretical content, spiritual sources and external appearance. This is particularly conspicuous in the catchwords it uses to advertise itself. The revisionism of the past, founded by Eduard Bernstein, used the slogan "Away from Marx," renouncing socialism as an object of the proletariat's class struggle ("The movement means everything, the goal means nothing"). Modern revisionism, however, advances the slogan "Back to Marx" and lays claim to renovating allegedly deformed socialism and, indeed, to realizing "true" socialism for the first time ever.

The slogan "Away from Marx" has hardly any chance of success today. Socialism has already sunk so deep into the minds of the peoples that attempts to promote anti-socialist objectives in the socialist countries can only be made under the guise of "improving" or "renovating" socialism.

Modern revisionism cannot simply pick up the philosophical legacy of its predecessor. Due to the historic achievements of socialism, the conditions of social practice and the entire ideological environment have changed so thoroughly that revisionism can no longer do with its old set of instruments. True, there still are posi-

*International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Prague 1969, p. 104.

tivist trends arising partly from an inadequate philosophical elaboration of cybernetics, the theory of general systems, mathematical logic, and certain other modern sciences, and partly from the reduction of philosophical work to the methodological problems of the sciences and due to the influence of bourgeois neo-positivism. It would be wrong to underrate the danger of a revision of the foundations of the Marxist-Leninist outlook in terms of a positivist way of thinking reduced to cybernetic, logical and mathematical conclusions, all the more since this version is zealously promoted by the theory of convergence. I believe, however, that this neo-positivist trend no longer plays the key role in modern philosophical revisionism. The most important reason for this is the manifest inability of neo-positivism and positivist thinking generally to theoretically conceive the fundamental problems of social evolution, the revolutionary struggle of great social movements and the formation of socialism as a social system, all of which arise from the growing practical and theoretical activity of the working people and from the development of the working class into the real subject of the historical process.

Modern philosophical revisionism, referring to "true" or "authentic" Marxian philosophy, opposes to dialectical and historical materialism an abstractly humanist philosophy of man centering on man's alienation and on overcoming it. Its utopian character makes this concept downright idealistic and reactionary. This trend manifests itself in various forms, such as Henri Lefèbvre's philosophical views, the so-called "philosophy of practice," Ernst Fischer's concept of the "whole man," or attempts to develop a Marxist philosophical anthropology or a "humanology."

Despite certain distinctions existing between the various forms of philosophical revisionism over individual questions, it is not difficult to establish a common fundamental tendency. Their common theoretical platform consists in pitting against the comprehensive world outlook of dialectical and historical materialism developed by Marx, Engels and Lenin a philosophy which is alleged to go back to the "true" Marx, offers a one-sided interpretation of certain points of view in Marx's *Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts* bearing on capitalist society and denies the existence of general laws in nature and society. Another basic feature of this revisionist philosophy is its denial of the fact that Lenin's philosophical work is the logical continuation of Marxism philosophy. Opposing Marx and Lenin to each other is carried to the absurd contention that dialectical and historical materialism is a result of the "deformation and degradation" of Marxism philosophy by Lenin and hence incompatible with it. In this way an attempt is made to deny the continuity and intrinsic connection of the development of the philosophical thought of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The revisionists

would like not only to falsify Marx's philosophical concepts but to depreciate the Leninist stage of Marxist philosophy.

All modern revisionists are agreed that Marxist-Leninist philosophy should be disengaged from its inseparable connection with the party of the working class and the socialist state. The fact that Marxist philosophy is the world outlook of the revolutionary party of the working class and is therefore closely linked with its policy is alleged to turn it into an "official doctrine," a "party ideology," an "institution," and this "institutionalized"* philosophy is said to become a false consciousness and a mere housemaid of politics who "had to accompany her mistress in her silly activities and was her distorted reflection."** This proposition, which asserts that there is an insurmountable contradiction between philosophy and party, has nothing to do with the Marxist concept of the relationship between theory and practice. Roger Garaudy has fully accepted it. In *The Great Turn of Socialism*, his latest book, he goes to the absurd extreme of affirming that unity between party and philosophy means "reviving a totalitarian and clerical conception."

Whether the Marxist philosophy is regarded as an *utopia* of the no longer alienated and deformed "whole man," as is the case with Ernst Fischer,** or as a blueprint of *what man can be like*, as is the case with Milan Kangrga,**** or as the theory of man as a *free practical being*, as is the case with Gajo Petrovic—things always boil down to turning the revolutionary theory of the working-class liberation struggle into an all-embracing human theory, into a hazy humanistic concept and making subjectively defined ideals the criteria of social reality.

The so-called "philosophy of practice," with its claim to be the only true Marxist philosophy, actually distorts the materialistic understanding of practice. For Marx and or Marxist-Leninist philosophy the revolutionary practice of the working class is material, meaningful activity aimed at changing the material world. In contrast, the "philosophy of practice" robs the concept of practice of its historically determined character and severs it from the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the building of socialism. Social practice is treated abstractly, as the free creative activity

*Leszek Kolakowski, *Der Mensch ohne Alternative. Von der Möglichkeit und Unmöglichkeit, Marxist zu sein* (Man Without an Alternative. Of the Possibility and Impossibility of Being a Marxist), Muenchen 1960, S. 8; Henri Lefebvre, *Probleme des Marxismus heute* (Problems of Marxism Today), Frankfurt-am-Main 1965, So. 13; Ernst Fischer, *Kunst und Koexistenz* (Art and Coexistence), Hamburg 1966, S. 51; Karel Kosik in: *Gespräch an der Moldau* (Interview on the Vltava), herausgeg. von Antonin J. Liehm, Wien/Muenchen/Zürich 1969, S. 340.

**Gajo Petrovic, *Die jugoslawische Philosophie und die Zeitschrift "Praxis,"* in: *Revolutionäre Praxis, Jugoslawischer Marxismus der Gegenwart* (Yugoslav Philosophy and the Journal Praxis, in "Revolutionary Practice, Yugoslav Marxism Today"), Freiburg i. Br. 1969, S. 10.

***Ernst Fischer, *Kunst und Koexistenz*, S. 51.

****Milan Kangrga, *Der Sinn der Marxschen Philosophie* (The Meaning of Marxist Philosophy), in *Revolutionäre Praxis, Jugoslawischer Marxismus der Gegenwart*, S. 62.

of man, and man himself as a "practical being." In this way, man's material practice, which is always within the framework of a definite social formation, is transformed into a kind of anthropological or, more, into a kind of anthologic-anthropological principle. This is how Gajo Petrovic defines practice: "Practice is, above all, a definite mode of being characteristic of a definite individual, and is independent of all other modes of being from which it differs fundamentally. This base-concept constrains us to essay a description of the forms and characteristic features of practice as a special mode of being. And though the question is not a simple one, it should not be difficult to single out at least some of these features by which practice differs from all other forms of being. For instance, there is the practice of free being; the practice of creative being; of historical being; practice is being through and for the future"*.

This type of speculative argument takes its cue from bourgeois philosophy. It has nothing in common either with the Marxist-Leninist concept of practice, or with the transformatory social practice of the working class. Experience of history and its Marxist-Leninist analysis show that social practice is not a "mode of being," but the *sum-total of material forms of activity* through which, in the conditions of a definite economic and social formation, men acquire and transform their natural and social means and forms of existence. And this practice is anything but "free being." It is determined by the level of productive forces and production relations and is subject to the objective laws of their development. In all class societies we can and should speak of the practice of classes. The class struggle to change existing social conditions is a decisive component of practice. In our time, the key spheres of practice are the creative activity of the working class and all the working people, led by their Marxist-Leninist parties, in building socialism and communism, and the revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

The problem of man and his alienation now holds a special place in revisionist falsification of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Marx pointed out that "the essence of man is not an abstract attribute of the individual," but "the sum-total of all social relations." That should demolish all speculative disquisition about "abstract" man, but there have been numerous attempts to create a Marxist philosophical anthropology.** All such attempts necessarily lead to counterposing the isolated individual to society and devising an artificial, abstract and unhistorical ideal image of man.

Alienation, Marx said, was based on capitalist private owner-

*Gajo Petrovic, *Wider den autoritativen Marxismus*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 1969, S. 114.

**Cf. Adam Schaff, *Marxismus und das menschliche Individuum* (Marxism and the Individual), Vienna, Frankfurt-on-Main/Zurich, 1965.

ship of the means of production and the resultant exploitation of man by man, and would disappear with the abolition of exploitation. But in the view of the modern revisionists, alienation is an inherent trait of man in general, also a cardinal category of Marxist philosophy. Petrovic writes: "The theory of alienation is central not only to Marx's early writings, but is the chief idea also of all his later works.* The revisionists thus disregard one of Marx's central ideas, namely, that alienation is a derivative which is abolished with the abolition of its source. The revisionists affirm, however, that alienation is an inherent human, anthropological category, or that its abolition will become a realistic possibility only in the very distant future. And taking that as their starting point, they set out to prove that under socialism, too, man is no less alienated and deformed than under capitalism. More, they contend that in a socialist society alienation becomes even more pronounced. That was the argument of Fischer, Goldstuecker, Garaudy and others at the 1963 Kafka Memorial Conference, and later was made the starting point for a more vigorous and disruptive criticism of socialist society.

As a rule, these philosophical concepts go into the elaboration of an ideal image of man and of socialism that is contraposed to the real man of socialist society and to the real, existing socialism. Irrespective of whether this ideal is seen as a distant utopia or as a realistic possibility, it serves as the "theoretical" basis for criticism and negation of the socialist society in the Soviet Union, the GDR, Poland and other socialist countries. The revisionists would have us believe that this is not real, true socialism corresponding to the ideal set by Marx, but "bureaucratic-étatist" socialism. Karel Kosik frankly says that "humanist socialism is predicated on different principles than bureaucratic socialism; each stems from different concepts of history, man, truth, etc."** It should be perfectly clear that this slander of socialist society, which is depicted as "bureaucratic-étatist," undemocratic and unhumanistic, plays a very definite role in imperialism's ideological struggle against socialism. It provides a basis for ideological subversion in the socialist countries and paves the way for the anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary forces. That is the only appraisal one can give of the views and concepts of the modern revisionists.

But we must also analyze their basic theoretical error: taking the development of socialism, with all its difficulties and contradictions, and, moreover, in conditions of fierce class struggle between the two social systems, they measure it against the ideal of socialism cleansed of all concrete factors and, what is more, an

* Gajo Petrovic, *Wider den autoritären Marxismus*, So. 23.

**Karel Kosik in: *Gespräch an der Moldau*, S. 338.

ideal that flagrantly distorts Marxian views on the subject. They ignore not only the concrete historical conditions in which socialist society develops, but also the fact that the building of socialism must follow the basic laws of social development, and, primarily, the basic laws of socialist revolution and of the socialist social formation. And these laws, though they originate and operate as the result of man's social activity, are objective and represent the very foundation for the conscious building of socialist society. By ignoring them, the revisionists depart from a materialist understanding of human history and human activity. That, in fact, is the idealistic method criticized by Marx and Engels in their *The German Ideology*: "Communism is for us not a stable state which is to be established, an *ideal* to which reality will have to adjust itself. We call communism the *real* movement which abolishes the present state of things." Yet the revisionists portray this effective movement, which destroys capitalism and creates socialism and communism, as a "distortion of ideals." Their criticism is directed first and foremost against socialist state power, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party. They want to hasten the withering away of the socialist state and turn the working-class party into a "spiritual vanguard," because, as they see it, socialist state power and Party guidance of society turns socialism into a "bureaucratic-étatist" system.

These revisionist conceptions are a mixture of the desire to eliminate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, and the illusion of administering socialist society by means of an "immediate democracy," without democratic centralism, by means of the so-called self-administration of production groups.

From these theoretical premises all modern revisionists arrive at the conclusion that a "new model of socialism," more precisely a model of "democratic, humane, pluralistic socialism," should be devised. As they see it, this socialism should be different from the existing socialism and possess an entirely new quality. Julius Strinka elucidated this idea as follows: "If true socialism must be a political program, it should differ unequivocally and positively from the former socialism. We must state clearly that we are striving not only to improve or perfect previous models of socialism, but to effect a substantive, structural transformation, a qualitatively new model, a new system of socialism. This difference from the old socialist model is in a positive sense clearly expressed by the attribute 'democratic'."* Strinka added that "reshaping the political system of socialism is the key to converting the 'bureau-

*Julius Strinka, *Gedanken ueber den demokratischen Sozialismus* (Thoughts on Democratic Socialism), *Praxis*, Heft 1/2 1969, S. 261.

cratic-étatist' model of socialism into a 'democratic' model."*

Reshaping the political system of socialism into a pluralistic model is tantamount in the first place to eliminating the leading role of the Communist Party. At the 1969 Moscow Meeting Gustav Husak said on this score: "The content of socialism and its basic principles became an object of ideological and political speculation. Some associated the concept of socialism with pluralist bourgeois democracy and the reformist model of so-called democratic socialism from the programs of Right Social-Democratic parties. In the prevailing situation, the ideological ferment developed into an ideological struggle expressive of a class conflict; socialist power based on the leading role of the Communist Party was gravely endangered."**

In sum, what is the theoretical and practical content of this allegedly new model of socialism? In terms of theory it is substantially the old petty-bourgeois democratic illusion with which Marx and Engels contended continuously in combating simplistic democracy, and later Lenin in combating opportunism. In substance, these "theories" ignore the class struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie, and, in our time, particularly the class struggle between the two social systems—socialism and imperialism. Their absolutely false point of departure leads revisionists to the fallacious conclusion that building socialism involves the tools and methods of formal bourgeois democracy. The pluralist model of socialism is a vain attempt at imposing on the socialist system elements of bourgeois democracy totally foreign to it.

The question arising in this connection is whether one can speak of different models of socialism in face of the growth of socialism and the disparities of that single social formation from country to country due to differences in historical circumstance. As I see it, the thesis is fundamentally wrong, because despite differences in levels of development, despite the diversity of history-conditioned forms of the various components and despite national peculiarities, socialism is in essence a *single social formation*. In all countries it has a common political basis, namely the dictatorship of the proletariat and the alliance of the working class with different classes and strata of working people; a common economic basis, namely, public and collective cooperative ownership of the means of production and the socialist mode of production based on that form of ownership. Everywhere, the working class is the leading social force, its Marxist-Leninist party planning the overall development of society and guiding that development along scientific lines. *The same basic laws of the development of the socialist social*

*Ibid., S. 262.

**International Meeting of Communist Workers' Parties. Prague 1969, p. 408.

formation operate in all the socialist countries, regardless of what modification they may undergo due to different historical conditions. *Only through planned, purposeful and consistent application of these universal laws by the working class and its allies under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party does socialism assume material shape and become a material force.* Marx, Engels and Lenin set us on this path of conscious struggle, determined by the essential objectively necessary interrelations and tasks of leadership. The Document of the 1969 Moscow Meeting stresses the need of fulfilling these fundamental tasks.

It is quite true that a diversity of forms exists in the socialist countries, giving material shape to the just mentioned essence of socialism; moreover, socialist society as such is in different phases of development from country to country. But constructing different models of socialism from this variety of the forms of materializing socialism amounts to *divorcing the form of materializing socialism from its essence and elevating form to an absolute.* This theoretically fallacious approach has an obvious practical purpose: to write off the basic historical experience of the October and to negate the universal significance of its character. V. I. Lenin stressed time and again that alongside the accidental and nationally conditioned the experience of the October Revolution contains *fundamental conclusions of worldwide historical importance*, mandatory for each socialist revolution. This applies equally to the experience of building socialism in the Soviet Union, because in essential content the Soviet socialist society is the basic model of socialism. The endeavor to construct "new models" of socialism in contrast to that basic model is theoretically untenable, anti-Soviet and nationalist in complexion.

* * *

If, after examining some of the aspects of the philosophico-theoretical content of modern revisionism, we go back to its ideological sources, we shall see that either Kant's or Mach's philosophy no longer have anything to do with it. What then is behind the slogan "Back to Marx"? We have seen that this professed return back to Marx is actually a deliberate distortion of Marxism, its transformation into an anthropologico-humanistic, utopian and idealistic doctrine indifferent to the existence of classes. In philosophical terms, modern revisionism often resorts to the theories of various Left liberal petty-bourgeois democratic thinkers, that is, theories that are in one way or another related to Marxist views. The theorists concerned, such as Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Jurgen Habermas, Ernst Bloch, Herbert Marcuse and Erich Fromm, who stand aloof from the organized working-class movement, represent an "intellectual Marxism" emasculated of proletarian class character, reflecting in a specific way the special situation of the

intelligentsia in between the main classes of bourgeois society. They have absorbed definite Marxist views, though largely in the distorted form of a so-called critical theory of society, rejecting all the crucial Marxist propositions. These men are each in his own way conscious of the historically transient character of capitalism, but despite this are incapable of aligning with the working class and the actually existing socialism, prevented not only by their anti-Communist prejudices, which in the case of some are very pronounced, but also by their insufficient comprehension of the *entire* Marxian theory and, more even, of its further projection by Lenin.

It may be easily shown that the modern revisionists extensively employ methods and means borrowed from these theorists, from Bloch or Marcuse or Fromm, who—not without ulterior motives—have been proclaimed “the best Marxist minds of the 20th century.”* Reducing the all-embracing philosophy of dialectical and historical materialism to a supra-class “dialectics of society” or “philosophy of practice,” distorting Marxist materialism and turning it into an anthropological pseudo-materialism quickly acquiring the quality of utopian idealism—all this has already been done and propagated by these petty-bourgeois democratic theorists. The revisionists often merely need to reinterpret these conceptions from their subtle, often inclined to be esoteric, form into a crudified form more suitable for mass consumption. This applies equally to the criticism and negation of socialist society in the socialist countries. For years, the above-mentioned “theorists” have been criticizing socialism in the Soviet Union, the GDR and other socialist countries, alleging that it does not correspond to Marx’s ideal of socialism. And again, all the revisionists had had to do was to adopt this point of view and hitch it on to the Social-Democratic conceptions of “democratic socialism” in order to create their “new model of socialism.”

*Predrag Vranicki, *Philosophie in unserer Zeit* (Philosophy in Our Time), *Revolutionäre Praxis. Jugoslawischer Marxismus der Gegenwart* (Revolutionary Practice. Yugoslav Marxism of Today). S. 89.

CLASS APPROACH TO WOMEN'S LIBERATION*

GUS HALL

Women are a most crucial force in the over-all mass upsurge in the country. They are playing an increasingly leading role in the various movements and struggles, especially in the fight for peace. But beyond this there is an upsurge of struggle for the liberation of women. This is a many-sided movement, based on many issues. There are, for example, movements around specific shop economic issues, struggles for child-care centers, against the high cost of living and around welfare issues. There are also growing movements around the general problems arising from the special oppression and inequality women encounter.

One of the new factors of present-day, explosive reality is a rising tide of struggle for women's liberation.

The problems in the struggle for the liberation of women are not just "women's problems." In fact, this is not a question of freeing women alone. The struggle for the liberation of women is an essential prerequisite and feature of the struggle for the liberation of human society as a whole. It is a struggle that is in the self-interest and the responsibility of all who fight for social progress.

There is a great, new interest in the role of women as fighters for social progress because they are a decisive new force in today's mass rebellions. They are the most consistent contingent of the struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression. Black women are writing a heroic page in the struggle for black liberation. Women are giving a new dimension to the struggle of the Puerto Rican people. The same is true of the Chicano women. From positions of experience and strength they are making a most important, unique contribution to all struggles. In a new way, and in greater numbers than ever before, women are a powerful force on the picket lines, in demonstrations and in the mass movements against high prices, high taxes and high rents.

But I think the shift is even more fundamental. Both in numbers and in quality women are playing a distinctive role in this present turning point of history. The contribution of women as a revolutionary force in the transition from capitalism to socialism is qualitatively on a different level than at other historic turning points. Of

*Talk delivered at enlarged meeting of the Women's Commission on January 5, 1970. (Political Affairs, February 1970. Abridged.)

course this is not to say that women have not contributed in past periods, including the past historic struggles in our country.

I think we must see the historic nature of the new qualitative shift in the role of women today. This new role of women can be dramatically seen in Vietnam and in the socialist countries. Women are also playing a new role in the national liberation movements throughout the world.

This new role is related to the nature of the present historic turning point—a turning point that is putting an end to all forms of exploitation, including the special forms based on race or sex. The historic process that has elevated women to the position of greater molders of history than in the past will escalate further and make a new qualitative leap as life moves to the stage of socialism and communism. Because of this there is a new qualitative significance to the struggle for women's liberation.

Forms of oppression are universal. But the exploiters of each country give their systems of slavery some national traits. There are also specific conditions in each country that affect the forms of struggle.

I think there are four distinct characteristics of the scene in the United States that have their effects on all struggles. They are reflected in the women's struggle for liberation.

The foremost of these characteristics is the class composition of the women sector of our population. The American women are the most working-class of any in the capitalist world. This is true in regard to the number of women at the point of production and in regard to the numbers who are wives and mothers in working-class families. They are 37 per cent of the work force and the numbers increase every year.

This class composition of American women has a profound influence on the working class. This must therefore be the starting point in the development of the struggle for women's liberation.

Women working in industry are no longer merely a wartime phenomenon. They are not only in the light industries. While it is true that 80 per cent of the workers in the apparel industry and 46 per cent in textile are women, the technological revolution has added an important new dimension to the role of women in industry. It has increased the numbers of women employed in the basic industries. They are 36 per cent of the workers in the manufacture of scientific and engineering instruments; they are 28 per cent of the workers in the ammunition and ordnance industry. Automation is a factor in adding new dimensions to the policies of discrimination and inequality. Women are a factor in the frenzied drive for even higher rates of exploitation through automation.

This higher rate of exploitation is related to a policy of dispersal of automated plants. Corporations have built many new automated

plants away from the working-class industrial centers. This is taking place both in the North and South.

The Tennessee Valley Authority has just reported that during the last three years almost 90 per cent of the new industrial jobs, as a result of building new plants in the seven TVA states, have been created in rural areas away from the five big industrial centers in those states. A great percentage of these new workers are women—a much higher percentage than in the old plants.

These new runaway, automated plants, with the new workers mostly unorganized, are used by the monopolies to set low rates for the jobs of all workers in all plants. This increases the rate of exploitation. It is not surprising that this is one of the big issues in the present GE strike. This strike is the most important front of struggle for women's liberation today. This was dramatically presented by a woman strike leader from a GE plant near Conneaut, Ohio. Like most of these newer factories, this plant has a high percentage of women. With over 12 years of seniority, these skilled women workers employed in the automated processes are paid less than the janitors who are men.

Over 40 per cent of all electrical workers are women. In a GE plant in Ashland, Massachusetts, women assemblers make \$2.25 an hour while male floor-sweepers get \$3.45 an hour. A starving wage for both.

Why corporations foster and hang on to policies of discrimination against women workers is clear from the following. Women workers produce as much as men but they receive 24 per cent less in wages than men for the same work. And if the comparison is made with the wages of black women workers, who receive 25 per cent less than white women, then it is clear that the rate of exploitation here is more than double that of men workers. This is a source of superprofits. These increases in the rates of exploitation have all been greatly intensified by automation.

It is clear that the class struggle against the effects of automation involves in a very special way the struggle against corporate policies of squeezing out extra profit through discrimination and higher rates of exploitation of women workers. The GE strike is a precedent-setting struggle in many ways. Most important is the effect it will have on women workers, their wages and working conditions.

From this, it is also clear that many of these new unorganized workers are women. Therefore, the problem of organizing the unorganized is closely related to getting the leadership of the trade unions to see the new importance of standing at the head of the struggle against discrimination because of sex.

Women are demanding a new role in the leadership of the unions. Based on other experiences, it is clear that women workers are be-

coming an important factor . The rank-and-file movements. There is no reason why women workers should not organize themselves into women's caucuses in shops and local unions. Such caucuses can join forces with other rank-and-file movements. This will add greatly to their power.

As the class confrontation sharpens, the working class is faced with many new problems. Most crucial of these new questions is the struggle on the political front. The working class is forced to break new ground in establishing forms of independent political action. Such political action cannot be limited to shop talk or local union activities. It must be rooted in the working-class neighborhoods. It must involve the workers' families. From this it is clear that women are a key factor in labor's struggle for political independence.

The teamster union's political form called DRIVE and the forms now being pushed by ALA unions are a recognition of this fact. Both the women who work in industry and working-class wives and mothers are directly involved in this crucial phase of the class struggle. In a sense, women become the important links between the class struggle in the shops and the class struggle in the political and electoral arena.

From all this it follows that the struggle for women's liberation in the U.S. is closely tied to the key developments of the class struggle. This is where its main allies are; this is where its main cadre must come from. It must reflect the issue of day-care centers in general, but above all it must react to the problem as it is faced by the working-class mothers. It must reflect the general struggles against high prices, taxes and rents, but special attention must be given to how these issues affect the working-class families.

This special class emphasis is correct for all capitalist countries. But because of the unique class composition of the American women, it is a crucial necessity for us.

The second feature, affecting all struggles in the USA, is the role and nature of the struggle for black liberation. The relationship between the forces of class struggle and the forces of black liberation is a central, unique question in our country. A correct understanding of this fact is of decisive importance in the struggle against capitalism. This understanding is necessary for a correct approach to all areas of struggle, including the struggle for women's liberation.

The importance of the black liberation movement is further heightened when one takes into consideration that some 40 million of our citizens are victims of one or another form of racial oppression. It is further emphasized by the fact that the great majority of black Americans—including the majority of black women—are workers, class brothers and sisters in the working-class family.

In all this, the crucible of life has placed the black women in a special relationship to all struggles for social progress. Of all working-class women the black woman worker is the most exploited. Of all women who suffer inequalities and indignities, the black women are victims many times over. More than anyone else, they are the prisoners of the ghettos. Therefore, a women's liberation movement that is not related to the specific problems faced by black women will go exactly nowhere.

If the need for day-care centers is important for working-class mothers, it is critical for the women in the ghettos.

Because of all these factors, the women's movement has a special responsibility in the struggle for black-white unity. In this the white women have a special responsibility in the fight against the influence of racism. Black and white unity in the struggle for women's liberation can have a very special influence on the struggle against racism as a whole.

In the struggles of the recent years, the black women have written many a heroic page. They have made and are making a unique contribution in the area of black liberation, in the class struggle and in the general fight for women's liberation. The tasks of relating women's liberation to the black liberation movement, to the special problems faced by black women, and to the working class as a whole cannot be separated. The elements of self-interest in all these struggles parallel, overlap and fuse.

The third special factor that gives the women's movement in the United States a unique quality is the fact that we live in the very center of world imperialism. The fact that U.S. imperialism has more imperialist holdings and that U.S. corporations exploit more human beings than any other country at any time in history, must affect our struggles at home. Our mass movements cannot escape the ugly fact that U.S. imperialism is the criminal murderer of millions of women and children. We cannot close our eyes to the slaughter of defenseless women and children by U.S. troops in the My Lai hamlet.

The struggle for women's liberation must be uniquely tied to the struggle against U.S. imperialism. We have not yet defeated U.S. imperialism, but we can be proud of the massive struggle against it. More than to any other sector of our people, the credit must go to the women of America, especially the young women. They have been the most consistent, militant force in the battle.

The fourth special factor is the high level of the development of U.S. monopoly capitalism—of state-monopoly capitalism.

Women are the victims of the monopolies as workers, housewives, professionals, farmers and small business people. Class exploitation and special oppression are now basically policies dictated by monopoly capitalism. The councils of the corporations—of the

military industrial complex—are all staffed by men. I know, it is not the goal of progressive women to sit on these councils, but these set the stage for the special problems women face. For these are the councils of the exploiters.

Women face the forces of monopoly on all levels of life—in the factory, in the supermarket, in the tax offices and in the actions of the rent gougers. Therefore, the struggle for women's liberation must be related to and be a part of the anti-monopoly struggle and movement.

In all this, the policies of the Nixon Administration are adding new problems for the women of America. The new policies of forcing the unemployed off the welfare rolls into employment on a starvation level create critical problems, especially for mothers who are the only breadwinners in many families. In the industrial centers, mothers who are on the rolls for Aid to Dependent Children—and especially Negro mothers—are forced to take some of the worst, dirtiest and lowest-paid jobs in industry. These are jobs workers accept only in an emergency. When these women leave such jobs they are refused aid of any kind. This is the Nixon-Agnew special contribution to the employer's drive for super-profits.

As the struggle of women has escalated, so has the issue of equal rights legislation. As in the case with most laws in a bourgeois democracy this one also cuts with a two-edged blade. It all depends on who interprets and who administers such laws.

Through bitter struggle the working class and the women's movements have won some special protection. These are concessions at the expense of the employers. The equal rights laws are geared to wipe them out. If one is not working at the point of production, it is easy to accept such laws in the name of equality. But is there not a need for laws governing such questions as lifting heavy weights, overtime, night shifts, maternity leaves, etc.? I think there is. What then should be our approach?

We are for equal pay for equal work while maintaining and modernizing the laws of special protection. In the name of equality we are not for permitting the employers to destroy the few laws that give women workers some elements of equality. Special laws of protection and equal pay for equal work are not contradictory.

PANORAMA

CHANGE THE POSITION OF WORKERS AT ENTERPRISES, IN SOCIETY AND THE STATE

The Fifth National Conference of Communist workers held in Milan over February 28 - March 1, reflected in a certain measure the upward trend of the labor movement and the growing consciousness and militancy of the working class. Indicative are these figures: the conference was attended by 6,512 delegates from 21,127 enterprises in different regions of the country and by 2,500 guests (the Fourth Conference in Turin in December 1967 was attended by 4,300 delegates from 1,600 enterprises—Ed.).

Fernando Di Giulio, member of the ICP Leadership and head of the CC commission in charge of work among the masses, who delivered the report, and other speakers, most of whom came direct from factory benches, discussed the achievements and problems of the present stage of the class struggle in Italy and the role and tasks of Communists.

It can be said that the Italian workers' struggle under ICP leadership has risen to a new level and its demands have grown in scope. The keynote of the conference were the slogans: "The working class is the guiding force in the democratic and socialist renovation of the country" and "Greater participation for the working class at enterprises and in the country."

These Communist demands have met with wide response and had extensive public support during the powerful strikes of 1969. They are closely linked with the experience of the masses. The workers of Italy increasingly realize that partial gains, however important and big, are quickly eroded by employers' and state counter-measures intensifying exploitation, raising prices, taxation, housing policy, etc. This contributes to the growing realization among the masses that they cannot change their conditions, unless the working class exercises an effective influence on all spheres of public life, from the organization of production to shaping the country's general policy. Hence the emphasis put by the conference on the new instruments of working-class influence won in 1969, such as general workers' meetings at enterprises, which, under the new industrial collective agreements, can be held during working hours; permanent delegates from sections, production lines and shops; delegates' councils at enterprise level and Communist workers' councils at the enterprise. The conference noted the growing

ICP influence among the working class and the growth of the Party's worker nucleus.

The powerful upswing of the working-class struggle, the conference emphasized, showed the decisive and vanguard role of the workers in solving the pressing social problems and securing all-round progress in the country. Rallying broad sections of the working people—engineers and technicians, intellectuals, peasants, and students, whose delegates also attended the conference—on a platform of democratic demands, the working class acts as the organizer and leader of deep-going social changes in the interest of the entire people and the socialist future.

From our own correspondent

IN THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

AUSTRIA

In his report on the political situation in Austria and Party tasks delivered to Party activists in Vienna on March 5 Franz Muhri said that a new situation has arisen as a result of the elections:

- the Austrian People's Party lost its relative majority in Parliament for the first time;

- the Freedom Party, which sought to obtain two to six additional seats in Parliament, lost one seat, which put paid to its plans of a "small coalition" with the People's Party;

- it is a positive development that the Freedom Party, a semi-fascist group, has lost ground;

- the election results showed that the neo-Nazi NDP failed to gain ground in Austria.

The victory of the Socialist Party, Muhri said, should be seen as an expression of the dissatisfaction of the majority of the people with People's Party policy and spoke of their desire for change.

During the elections, the Communists emphasized that the vital problems of the people could not be solved in the seventies with the help of the old policy.

In its program Muhri continued, the Socialist Party promised change and reforms. Now the Socialist Party is in a strong enough position to secure that, because:

- the future government will be headed by a Socialist Chancellor;

- the President belongs to the Socialist Party;

- the Socialist Party has an absolute majority in the Bundesrat and an absolute or relative majority in five Landtags;

- the Socialist Party exercises a decisive influence in the trade unions. The question is, Muhri stressed, whether the Party would use its position to satisfy the demands of the working people.

The Communists insist on:

- urgent and effective measures to fight the rising cost of living and an income tax reform.

- reducing army service to six months;

- ending the crisis in education;

- abolishing privileges for political figures;

- extending democracy in all spheres of public life, including a reform of the electoral law and granting the workers and office employees the right of control and participation in decision-making on economic problems.

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The Communists, Muhri said, would support any positive step by the Socialist Party in this direction. At enterprises and in the trade unions they will work for united action by factory and office workers to step up "pressure from below" and secure the demands of the people.

Franz Muhri concluded: "It is necessary to give top priority to the fundamental problems of a deep-going renovation of democracy, curbing the power of big business and promoting socialist policy as an alternative."

CYPRUS

The 12th AKEL Congress, meeting *March 5-8*, discussed a report by General Secretary E. Papaioannou and adopted resolutions on the Lenin centenary, the situation in Vietnam, the Middle East and Greece. It also elected a new Central Committee. E. Papaioannou was re-elected General Secretary.

G D R

G. Husak and L. Strougal were on an unofficial visit to the Leipzig International Spring Fair on *March 7 and 8* and had talks with W. Ulbricht.

During the talks, which took place in an atmosphere of cordiality and complete unanimity, questions of mutual interest were discussed.

POLAND

A conference of provincial committee secretaries opened in Warsaw on *March 10* under the chairmanship of B. Jaszczuk, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, Polish United Workers' Party, PAP agency reported. The conference discussed guidelines for changes in the system of economic incentives in industry and approved general guidelines for changes in the bonus system for office employees and in the procedure of raising wage rates for workers. The two documents outline the principles underlying the scheme for regulating the growth of wages in industry in the next five-year period (1971-75).

RUMANIA

On *March 11* N. Ceaucescu addressed a meeting marking the 25th anniversary of the Gheorghiu Academy of Social and Political Sciences of the Central Committee of the RCP.

The speaker pointed out that more than 18,000 political workers had completed its regular and short-term courses. At present, he said, the Academy, a higher educational institution with a four-year

program, is the highest forum of political education. At the new stage of socialist development improving the ideological, political and professional standards of Party cadres and administrative personnel, all Rumanian Communists, is a matter of growing importance. There is a demand for people possessing basic knowledge in all spheres and for well-trained Party functionaries who have assimilated the best achievements of human knowledge.

We observe the Academy's anniversary, Ceaucescu said, on the eve of the centenary of Lenin's birth. The best way to pay tribute to the memory of Lenin, the man of genius, is to do everything possible to raise the political and ideological level of Communists. We shall continue to take guidance in our activity in the Marxist-Leninist conception, to serve the interests of the working class and our socialist nation, steadfastly promote cooperation among the socialist countries and cement the unity of the Communist and working-class movement, of the entire anti-imperialist front.

SOVIET UNION

A delegation of functionaries of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party was on a visit to the Soviet Union from *March 11-20*; it was headed by B. Lkhamsuren, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC MPRP.

The Mongolian comrades studied the CPSU experience in ideological work.

The delegation met with P. N. Demichev, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU.

FINLAND

In its issue of *March 12 Kansan Uutiset*, organ of the Communist Party, wrote editorially on the results of the meeting between a CPSU delegation and the leadership of the Finnish Communist Party. It noted in particular: "The joint communique is evidence of the fact that the two fraternal parties hold identical views on the pressing problems of world politics and are willing to further promote mutual relations and cooperation in the spirit of mutual respect and equality." The relations between CPF and the CPSU have always been good, the editorial noted. They rest on a sound foundation, which has grown much stronger in the past 50 years.

The visit of the CPSU delegation, the talks and the joint communique prove that the two parties want to maintain and consolidate their fraternal ties. The Communists and progressive public opinion of Finland will appreciate this.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

On *March 12* the central newspapers carried a decision of the Working People's Party Central Committee to rename the League

of Working Youth of Vietnam the Ho Chi Minh League of Working Youth. The young pioneer and children's organizations were named after Ho Chi Minh. The Central Committee called on the young people "resolutely to fight to win complete victory over U.S. imperialism and successfully to build socialism."

NORTHERN IRELAND

The Communist Party of Northern Ireland held its 14th Congress in Belfast over *March 13-15*. Hugh Moore, General Secretary of the Party, made the main report.

The congress agenda: unification of the Communist Party of Northern Ireland and the Irish Workers' Party and reconstitution of one Communist Party of Ireland. The congress adopted a special statement on the centenary of Lenin's birth and a resolution condemning the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

The delegates unanimously endorsed the decision to re-unify the two Marxist-Leninist parties of the north and south of Ireland and to form one Communist Party of Ireland.

DENMARK

Meeting in Copenhagen on *March 14 and 15*, the Central Committee of the Communist Party heard a report by its chairman, Knud Jespersen. He said that the municipal elections were indicative of the defeat suffered by the Right forces. They reflected the success of the Communist struggle against the bourgeois government. No other party had so forcefully exposed the policy of the bourgeois government and offered an alternative. The Social-Democrats strengthened their position not because their policy was popular with the masses, but because by voting for the Social-Democrats the electorate expressed their dissatisfaction with the bourgeois government. Many voters believe that the Social-Democrats are the only real force opposing the bourgeois parties. The defeat of the Socialist People's Party showed the discontent of the voters with its leaders, who are more concerned with maintaining cooperation with the Social-Democrats than honoring their promises.

The results of the elections open up new possibilities for the Communist Party and lend urgency to its program aimed at uniting the working people and Left forces.

SOVIET UNION

A delegation of the Prague City Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party led by Antonin Kapek, member of the Presidium, CC CPC, and First Secretary of the Prague City Committee, came to Moscow on *March 16* on the invitation of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU to exchange experience in Party work.

ITALY

The Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party, meeting in Rome on *March 16 and 17*, heard a report, "Communists and the Present Political Crisis," by P. Ingrao, member of the Political Bureau, who gave a detailed analysis of the protracted government crisis in the country. The resolution read in part: "The Central Committee approves the report by P. Ingrao and calls on the entire Party to take the necessary steps in developing and consolidating unity in order to foil the intrigues against democratic and parliamentary institutions and the popular movement."

AUSTRIA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria decided at its meeting in Vienna on *March 18* to convene the 21st Congress of the Party between May 28 and 31. The following items are on the agenda:

- (1) Election of the Presidium and commissions.
- (2) Reports: (a) Central Committee report on the political situation and the tasks of the CPA; (b) report of the Auditing Commission; (c) report of the Central Commission of Appeal.
- (3) Reports of commissions.
- (4) Election of the Central Committee, Auditing Commission and Central Commission of Appeal.

SOVIET UNION

L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, had a meeting on *March 17* with Jeno Fock, member of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and Chairman of the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government, who came to Moscow on a visit of friendship.

Comrades L. I. Brezhnev and J. Fock held talks, which passed in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship, cordiality and complete unanimity on all questions discussed.

USA

The International Department of the Communist Party, through its secretary, James E. Jackson, released the following statement on *March 19*.

The Communist Party of the USA finds it necessary to call attention to grievous and harmful misrepresentations which appear in a news account published in the daily Jewish *Morning Freiheit* of *March 10*. The misleading head over the report reads: "Communist Party of Israel Opposes the Statements in the Soviet Union on Israel, Zionism."

The source for this story is cited as the Jewish Telegraph Agency, well-known as a Zionist outlet and mouthpiece for anti-socialist and anti-Soviet propaganda. Uncritically, the *Freiheit* quotes the reported denunciation of Soviet leaders for a stand alleged to be "aimed not only against Israel but also against the whole Jewish people" and not in the interests of peace.

The facts are that the only Marxist-Leninist party in Israel is the Communist Party headed by Tawfiq Toubi and Meir Vilner, and that this party has consistently opposed the aggressive pro-imperialist policies and actions of the Israeli government before and since the "six-day war" of June 1967. It has publicly assessed the position of the Soviet Union toward events in the Middle East as one in the best interests of the Jewish and Arab peoples and world peace.

The so-called Communist Party headed by Shmuel Mikunis and Moshe Sneh, which is cited by the JTA and referred to by the *Freiheit's* headline, is a group that split from the Marxist-Leninists several years ago in stubborn adherence to opportunist policies and national-chauvinist attitudes. It has since then tried to give a defensive cloak to Israel's military aggression against its neighbors.

The CPUSA condemns the anti-Soviet campaign of slander by such bourgeois agencies as the *Jewish Telegraph Agency*, the *New York Times* and others as serving the reactionary interests of world imperialism and threatening the real interests of Jews and Arabs in the cause of national liberation and peace for all peoples. It calls upon all progressive forces of every nationality to reject the false and hostile propaganda of the anti-Sovieteers, from whatever source, so that unity of the people may grow and triumph over imperialism and reaction everywhere. (*Daily World*, March 19).

RUMANIA

On March 19 a meeting of the CC RCP ended its work, Agerpres reported. It discussed the national program for developing animal husbandry and increasing livestock output in 1970-80, the national program of utilizing water resources, extending irrigation, land improvement and drainage, combating soil erosion in 1971-75 and overall long-term guidelines for the period up to 1985. N. Ceaucescu made a closing speech. The Central Committee approved the draft program submitted by the Council of Ministers, with amendments made by the Commission on Agriculture and Forestry, as well as by the speakers in the debate and in Ceaucescu's speech.

The meeting then proceeded with the other items on the agenda.

It approved information submitted by the Executive Committee of the CC RCP on the membership, composition and organizational structure of the Party, and the structure and movement of cadres.

The meeting also approved information submitted by the CC RCP

Executive on the international activity of the RCP in 1969 and on the plans for 1970.

The meeting elected comrades M. Constantinescu and M. Dalea candidate members of the CC RCP Executive.

NORWAY

In connection with the centenary of Lenin's birth the Communist Party Secretariat called a seminar in Oslo on *March 14-20* on the subject, "Topical Problems of Leninism." The seminar was attended by delegations from the GDR, Hungary, Italy, Rumania and the Soviet Union.

LEBANON

The First Congress of the National Federation of the Trade Unions of Factory and Office Workers of Lebanon, which ended in Beirut on *March 19*, adopted a resolution on the Lenin centenary.

FINLAND

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland met in Helsinki over *March 21-22*. The Information Department reported that the meeting discussed the election results and the post-election situation.

The meeting also heard information by Party chairman A. Saarinen on the talks between representatives of the CPF and the delegation of the CPSU, which were held in Helsinki early in March.

The resolution on the situation in the country following the elections calls for a more vigorous struggle against the offensive of the Right forces.

The growing influence of the Right forces, the resolution says, imperils the foreign policy of peace which took shape over the years, and the democratic rights and freedoms of the people. This is due to the efforts made to tie our country still more closely to the economic and political groupings of West European countries, thereby jeopardizing our national interests and independence. The Right forces advocate an economic policy that would have the inevitable effect of boosting prices, increasing inflation and unemployment and lowering the living standards.

The CC CPF stresses that the combined strength of the workers' parties and those who cooperate with them in the present government coalition is superior to that of the Right. By acting concertedly these forces can thwart the Rightists' schemes and their efforts to gain access to the new government.

The resolution points out that only a government supported by the working class and farmers and effectively acting against big

capital in favor of the working masses can count on success. In this connection the CC CPF points to the need for rallying in a united popular front opposed to the policy of the Right all social forces who seek to promote a policy of peace, Finland's cooperation with the Soviet Union and to direct internal development towards greater democracy.

The interests of the working people, the resolution continues, call for serious socio-economic change. The resolution lists the demands which the Communist Party considers essential in meeting the interests of workers, small farmers and other groups of the population and in furthering economic development.

FRANCE

The meeting of the CC FCP, held on *March 21 and 22*, heard a report, "Tasks of the Party after the Cantonal Elections," by André Vieuguet, Secretary of the CC FCP.

AUSTRALIA

A seminar on "The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin" was held in Melbourne on *March 22* under the auspices of the Australia-USSR Society. It was attended by 400 people representing the Labor Party youth organization, university faculty members and students.

BRITAIN

The *Morning Star* reported a meeting between representatives of the Communist parties of Britain and Rumania on *March 22*. They discussed questions of mutual interest, shared experience in Party work and exchanged views on international problems.
